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THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION
ITS ORIGIN AND PROGRESS

General Editor:

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*Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity
in the University of Cambridge*

III

THE CHURCH OF TO-DAY

Part II

CHRISTIAN WORSHIP

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CHRISTIAN WORSHIP

by

F. C. BURKITT, D.D., F.B.A.

NORRISIAN PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

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GENERAL PREFACE

THE idea of this series of books originated with the Rev. P. Gardner-Smith, Fellow and Dean of Jesus College, Cambridge, who thought that many teachers of boys and girls would welcome a series of little books which severally might provide a term's work for their pupils, and taken all together, in sequence, supply them with the kind of knowledge of the Christian Religion and the Christian Church in the past that would explain to them the state of things by which they are confronted to-day.

We enlisted the help of Professor J. M. Creed and the Rev. J. W. Hunkin (now Archdeacon of Coventry), and the four of us together drafted the scheme and the syllabus of the different parts of it as a guide to the various writers, and have read each part. Each writer's treatment of the subject, of course, is his own, and some have not kept to the original scheme quite as closely as others have. But if we cannot hope that each part of the series will be found the most suitable book on its subject for use in Schools, we are confident that anyone who reads through the three volumes will have acquired a true perspective of the whole subject and be able to form a sound judgement of the right and the wrong of many questions in dispute to-day. We hope, indeed, that what we have provided may be found of

interest and value to many who have left their school years far behind them.

Even among those who profess and call themselves Christians and are members of Christian Churches there is widespread uncertainty and doubt as to much that has been believed in the past and been reckoned a necessary part of the faith of a Christian, and again as to the possibility of carrying on life in the world as it is without being false to the ideals of Jesus at every turn. Yet the appeal that those ideals make comes as strongly as ever to men and women of all kinds everywhere to-day, and more of them than ever before are convinced that the solution of our present problems—individual and social, economic and international—is only to be found on lines that run parallel at least with the idealism of Jesus—love of God and love of Man.

Is Christianity a failure? Is it a case of “the high that proved too high”? and though it has claimed men’s allegiance for nineteen hundred years, can it do so still? Is it still capable of being a guide to the right attitude to the world in which we find ourselves, the right way of thinking and feeling and living?

Everyone early in life ought to face these questions. But they cannot be answered by anyone who does not know what Christianity has been, how it came into being, what it had to contend with, and what it has achieved in the past. This series of books is intended to supply sufficient knowledge of these things to suggest a reasonable answer.

The first volume gives a picture of the new society of Christians already in being, with its beliefs and its way of life, twenty or thirty years after it came into existence:—as soon, that is, as we have detailed evidence about it. To that is prefixed an account of the religious history of the Hebrew people among whom the new religion had its origin; and it is followed by a survey of the traditions about the personality and life and teaching of its Founder which were current in the society He brought into being in the early years of its existence, and since at least the middle of the second century have been regarded as inspired accounts of the actual facts.

The second volume will shew how the new religion made its way in the old world and overcame its rivals; and then will trace its history in the West and particularly in England, giving attention especially to such institutions and movements as have proved to be of lasting influence.

In the third volume the attempt is made to set out in its main features the faith of the Church in comparison with some of its rivals of to-day; to sketch the history of its worship with special reference to the English Book of Common Prayer; and finally to answer the question What is the Church's task in the world to-day?

The writers of these books are not among those who think that apology for Christianity is needed. Its chequered history shews great ideas and ideals fighting their way to a victory that has never yet been won, except for moments and by individuals. Always new conditions

and new knowledge are setting would-be Christians new problems to solve. Christianity survives in the world because it has always been able to adapt itself to different conditions of knowledge and thought and life, assimilating much that was new and transfiguring it in turn. It is still a fighting Faith and a fighting Church, making converts all over the world, with which we have to deal. But it is to a quiet survey of its origins, its characteristics, and its history that readers of these volumes are invited.

J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER

Cambridge

June 1930

CHRISTIAN WORSHIP

By

F. C. BURKITT

PREFACE

IN the following pages I have attempted to sketch the developement of the forms of Christian worship from the very earliest customs to the Book of Common Prayer. I have tried to keep in view the main outlines, and this means passing over many otherwise interesting details. The English Prayer-Book, excellent as it is in many ways, is a peculiar product of peculiar conditions in the England of Tudor days. It seemed to me most important not merely to connect its several parts with prayer-books of late mediæval times, but also to shew in a general way how these late mediæval usages came into being. If 'continuity' be a principle of value it is not enough to demonstrate continuity with unreformed Christendom; we must also examine what sort of continuity these unreformed rites and practices had with much earlier times.

A criticism which some may perhaps be inclined to make is that I have inserted too much history and not enough liturgiology, but I feel that liturgical lore without a solid historical background is almost worthless. The great lesson which the late Edmund Bishop was always teaching is the immense weight of racial and national characteristics in shaping the forms of worship, and these characteristics must be studied outside the sacristy in the open air of general history.

The short lists of books to be consulted range from cheap texts which might be issued to all the members of a class to expensive books of reference in various languages, which in various ways might be useful to a teacher. I am conscious that I have omitted some which might well be included, but all that I have inserted will, I am sure, repay careful study.

F. C. BURKITT

December 1929

CHAPTER ONE

WORSHIP AND PRAYER

RELIGION has two sides, an instinctive side and a taught side. If it were all instinctive we should be without the experience of former ages; if it were all a thing taught, it would remain something external to us, something outside us, like a blind man hearing about pictures or a deaf man reading about tunes. Christians believe that some things which happened in the past are of immense importance to us now. If in some way the life and death of Jesus Christ has a real influence on the way that we think of our own place in the world, then we must get to know about Him. What is called our 'religious instinct' is not enough. If we are to understand at all what He means for us we must know when and how He lived: if we are to understand at all what He said to friends and foes we shall have to learn something about their ideas of the world and of religion. We shall have to read enough of the Old Testament to understand the New Testament; we must get to understand more or less how things came to be in the state that is assumed, rather than described, in the Gospels. And, it may be added, if we are to understand at all how the present forms of Christian worship came to be what they are we must learn a little of the course of Christian history, of the history of the Christian Church.

But besides all this, which is a branch of history and

tradition, there is an instinctive side to religion, something corresponding to the pleasure we feel in humming a favourite tune or looking at a view or a picture that we feel to be beautiful. Like other human faculties it varies in intensity in different individuals, it can be stimulated or stunted, it can be healthily encouraged or be deformed. We do not know how it is that we are conscious of anything, more especially how it is that we can be conscious of things that do not directly concern us and our immediate welfare, how we can form ideas about countries we have never seen, or about the nature and distance of the stars, or form general ideas like 'tree' or 'vegetable' (when every tree we have seen has been a particular one of a particular sort of tree, such as an oak or a thorn). We do this by a kind of 'reasoning', the germ of which may exist in other animals but is certainly noticeable in man alone. As a witty Frenchman once wrote: 'Man is the only animal that considers about what does not concern itself'. And by this kind of consideration men in various ages have come to believe that they can have some kind of intercourse or conversation with the Reality that they feel lies behind Nature. They feel that the world we see could not have made itself, and they feel that they can have some intercourse with What made it. This intercourse is religion.

I have avoided speaking of 'God' or 'the Gods', because if we begin historically with the earliest ideas about God we shall find that they were something like our ideas when we were little children. The thoughts of little

children are childish, but that is no reason why we should consider that what they think about is childish. There is no doubt that many things that men have thought about GOD (or the Gods) were derived from human characteristics: they thought of GOD as a magnified man. The Bible, in the first chapter of Genesis, says on the other hand that GOD made man in His image. There is truth in both these statements, and the special truth in the Bible statement is, that unless there is in man something that is truly divine there cannot be any intercourse between man and GOD. This something in a man may be asleep or diseased, and so be for the time out of action, but unless it is there no true religion is possible.

PRAYER, THANKSGIVING, SACRIFICE

The Christian religion came into being as the result of the life and death of our Lord Jesus Christ. The Christian Church has always regarded Him as the true fulfilment and outcome of the Jewish religion, of the religion of the Old Testament. Before coming therefore to the worship of the early Christians we must consider some of the ideas about worship which we find in the Old Testament, which formed the starting-point of Christian worship.

When we come to church, we find that the worship has three main divisions: prayer, thanksgiving, and sacrifice, or what corresponds to sacrifice. If we want something from GOD we must ask Him, ask Him properly and for proper things. If He has been kind to us it is meet and just and

our bounden duty to thank Him. But in almost all ages men have thought that they ought to try and do something to attract GOD's notice and to make Him more favourable to them. This is the general idea that underlies all sacrifices.

I suppose most of us have been taught that what GOD cares most about is our state of mind, that in Himself He needs nothing and that He sees our hearts and is all-wise and will give us what is good for us. This is true; and it is taught very clearly in some parts of the Old Testament, particularly in some very well-known psalms. In the fifty-first psalm we find

Make me a clean heart, O God : and renew a right spirit within me....

Thou desirest no sacrifice, else would I give it thee : but thou delightest not in burnt-offerings.

The sacrifice of God [i.e. the sacrifice which GOD desires] is a troubled spirit : a broken and contrite heart, O God, wilt thou not despise.

We gather from this that the Psalmist has come to realize for himself that what GOD requires above everything is a right disposition, a mind which is really sorry if wrong has been done, and that everything else He will overlook or even not care about. But how does the Psalm go on? The Psalmist continues:

O be favourable and gracious unto Sion: build thou the walls of Jerusalem.

Then shalt thou be pleased with the sacrifice of righteousness,¹ with the burnt-offerings and oblations: then shall they offer young bullocks upon thine altar.

¹ This phrase means the sacrifices ordered by the righteous law: it does not here mean 'moral conduct'.

These verses give us the key to the historical situation. The Psalmist is not King David, but someone living in the Exile when Sion and the Temple are in ruins and the sacrifices have ceased. He feels like a Christian who has been unable to go to church;¹ nevertheless, though the regular channel of intercourse with GOD has been cut off, he has found that he can still speak to GOD, and is confident that GOD will hear him, though he offers no sacrifice. But the state of things where there is no sacrifice he feels to be abnormal, unsatisfactory; and he looks forward with longing to the time when oxen will again be burnt, i.e. cooked, day by day in honour of the GOD of Israel.

Our ancient Prayer-Books are full of phrases, like 'GOD, who hast given thine only Son to be unto us both a sacrifice for sin, and also an ensample of godly life', so that it is quite necessary for us to have some idea of what a sacrifice was. In essence it was a meal, with GOD as the chief guest. The clearest picture in the Old Testament of what the men of old time thought about sacrifice is to be found in the story of Noah's sacrifice (Gen. viii, 20-22): GOD was pleased (so the story goes) with what Noah had prepared for Him and so He promises never to bring the Flood again. Of course in later times good and wise men came to see that GOD had no need of our food and that it was absurd to think that He could be bribed by our offerings.²

¹ More accurately, like a Catholic Christian who has been unable to go to Holy Communion.

² See especially Ps. 1, 7-15.

But the custom went on all the same, all the more as it was felt that the food without which we cannot live is in some way a gift from GOD and so is sacred, especially the blood which was supposed to be life itself (Deut. xii, 23).

At first all meat of domestic animals (beef, mutton, but not game) was offered as a sacrifice every time it was eaten, but for the Jews, after the time of King Josiah, there was a change: the sacrifices went on in the Temple at Jerusalem but nowhere else, and when they ate their everyday meal outside the Temple they did not make it a sacrifice. But the old feeling that GOD and man met over food, that our food comes from GOD and is only lawful for us by GOD's permission, still remained, and no Jew ever sat down to his dinner without blessing GOD. That is the origin of our graces before and after a meal. It is a reminder that once our meals were regarded as sacrifices.

TEMPLE WORSHIP AND SYNAGOGUE WORSHIP

The rule enforced from the time of Josiah,¹ that sacrifices were only to be offered at the Temple in Jerusalem, made a great difference to the ordinary Jew's methods of worship. He still felt that sacrifices were the natural way of approaching GOD, and it was his privilege to come up to Jerusalem for the great feasts and his comfort to know that every morning and afternoon the priests there offered a daily sacrifice for all Israel. Meanwhile his duty was to

¹ It was about 621 B.C., thirty-five years before Nebuchadnezzar destroyed Jerusalem.

do what GOD had told him to do, he was to keep GOD's Law. No doubt it seemed to many at first that they were now cut off from GOD, as compared with the times when GOD was believed to be somehow present, or at least attentive, at their own village sacrifices, now prohibited. But it was just about this time that great religious leaders, men like Jeremiah the prophet, were beginning to be conscious that intercourse with GOD was not dependent on sacrifices. If GOD were hungry He would not be dependent on the Jews: the whole world was His and all that was in it. What He wanted offered to Him was praise from thankful hearts; when trouble came let them call to GOD. That was enough; without sacrifice He would hear and answer them.¹

So, when the Temple was laid waste by Nebuchadnezzar and the sacrifices ceased, the Jews found they could still speak to GOD without sacrifices; and, when later on there were colonies of Jews living far away from Jerusalem, in Alexandria and other heathen lands, they used to meet together to bless GOD, and to hear His holy Law read, and to ask Him to forgive their sins, and to hasten the day when His Name should be held sacred by all men and His glory spread over all the earth.

These associations for worship without sacrifice were called 'synagogues', i.e. 'gatherings'. The word for church in Greek and Latin and many modern languages, viz. *Ecclesia*, means very much the same. There is, in fact, a

¹ See especially Ps. 1, mentioned above.

good deal of resemblance between the synagogue service and such Christian services as 'Mattins' or 'Evensong' in the Church of England Prayer-Book. And when we go on to consider the actual forms of worship used in the synagogues there is a great deal that sounds not so unfamiliar to us Christians.

Make us return, our Father, to Thy Law; draw us near, O our King, to Thy service; bring us round in perfect repentance to Thy presence. Blessed art Thou, O LORD, who delightest in repentance.

Forgive us, our Father, for we have sinned; pardon us, O our King, for we have transgressed, for Thou dost pardon and forgive. Blessed art Thou, O LORD, gracious and abundantly forgiving.¹

It is probable that in the time of Jesus Christ the forms of the Jewish prayers were not so fixed as they are now, but it is believed that something very much like the prayers given above were said. We read in the Gospels that Jesus prayed much to GOD all alone: on one occasion it says that He was out in the hills all night in prayer to GOD (Luke vi, 12). But we read also that He warned His disciples against mere repetitions and thinking that GOD would hear them the more for the length of their prayers. And so when they asked Him for a form of prayer what He taught them was quite short.

¹ From the *Amidah*, also known as 'The Eighteen Benedictions', probably the oldest part of the synagogue service.

THE LORD'S PRAYER

Christians cannot study 'the Lord's Prayer' too much, for no one knew better than Jesus what real intercourse with GOD meant. But it is easy for the words to lose their meaning to us through too much repetition. The prayer is given in Mt. vi, 9-13 and also in Lk. xi, 2-4.¹ A comparison of the two passages made the great German scholar Harnack think that the original form of the prayer was only

Father, our daily bread give us to-day, and forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors, and bring us not into temptation.

I do not think this very short form is likely to have been the original, for the clauses about God's Name and His Kingdom belong to the atmosphere of the Gospel: they are, so to speak, Jewish in character and are not likely to have been first added afterwards by Christians. But Dr Harnack's short form is useful as a sort of diagram or skeleton to shew the construction of the prayer. It is not so much that the first part contains petitions about God (or His Church) and the second part petitions about ourselves: a better way of looking at it is to say that the petitions all come in the second part, and that the first part is not so much asking GOD for something as realizing what we mean when we call Him 'our Father'. We mean first of all that we do dare to think of Him as a little child thinks of a kind and loving father to whom the child may say

¹ The text as found in the best MSS is given in the Revised Version. In the Authorized Version the two forms have been assimilated.

anything;¹ but at the same time He in Himself is sacred, and greater and nobler than anything we can imagine, so that the best we can think of is the realization of His direct rule, and our best happiness to desire what He wishes. Nevertheless Jesus encouraged His disciples to ask for the necessities of life—provision for the day, that much and no more—and further, to ask to be forgiven in the same way as we forgive others. It does not mean that we should not suffer the consequences of wrongdoing any more than that we ought not to pay our bills, or that we ought to let off people who owe us something. ‘As we forgive our debtors’ is a very simple rule: speaking generally, it means not to be harsh or grasping; it does *not* mean never to exact payment. Similarly we must expect to suffer the just consequences of wrongdoing. At the end of the Lord’s Prayer we ask not to be brought into trial, and the clause added to this in St Matthew’s Gospel, i.e. ‘But deliver us from the evil (or, the Evil One)’, shews us what is meant. ‘Trial’ or ‘temptation’ (πειρασμός) in the Gospels always means something which tries our steadfastness and loyalty to God: what we ask is that when we are exposed to such a danger we may escape the infection of the evil impulse.

One very early Christian manual tells Christians to say the Lord’s Prayer three times daily. This evidently is for private use, quite apart from gatherings together for public worship. Thus from the earliest times it has been the duty

¹ The Greek for this is *μετὰ παρησίας* (Heb. iv, 16).

and the privilege of Christians to talk with GOD by themselves. To open the heart to GOD, to let that atom of the divine nature within us coalesce in thought and feeling with the Reality which underlies everything, must raise and purify the whole mind and make it more able to say honestly 'Thy kingdom come'.

'The great thing is that GOD is on our side' said someone to Abraham Lincoln, but Lincoln replied that it was not so important that GOD should be on their side as that they should be on GOD's side. The great example of prayer set by Jesus is where He prayed earnestly in the Garden of Gethsemane that if possible He might be spared the great trial before Him, and the answer to His prayer was not that He was spared the trial but that He received courage and strength to go through it.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE WORSHIP OF THE EARLY CHURCH

ALL other prayers except the Lord's Prayer we end with 'through Jesus Christ our Lord' or some similar formula. This is to remind us that we pray as Christians, as members of the great association with Christ which is called the Church. From one point of view the Church is to be regarded as one individual, Christ the head, the eyes, the brain, the will, the understanding, and each of us an atom of the body, of which we form a tiny but constituent part. This is what St Paul teaches in the Epistle to the Ephesians. So when Christians worship GOD together they do so as if the whole Church was assembled together with Christ Himself to commend them to GOD.

What form did the worship of the earliest Christians take? Some of them had been Jews before they were Christians, some of them had been heathens, but all alike were accustomed to think of sacrifices, or what corresponded to sacrifices, as the natural form of worshipping a God. We shall expect therefore to find in early Christian worship something corresponding to a sacrifice. There is also something even more primitive and fundamental. St Paul often uses a word (*κοινωνία*), sometimes translated in English by 'fellowship' and sometimes by 'communion':

what it means is that the Christians believed that by being in the Christian Society they had been admitted to a sort of partnership with GOD and also with their fellow-Christians. When they met together they felt united with Jesus Christ and with each other; they felt the influence of Jesus to be with them, just as a puff of wind seems to fill every corner of a room at once. It was most important that they should thus meet together, not as scattered units, but as 'members' of one 'body'.

And when they did thus meet together it was natural that one feature of their meeting should be a common meal, that they should eat together like members of one family. And, as was said just now, no Jew ever sat down to his dinner without blessing GOD. The Christian community at the beginning was composed of believing Jews, so that when they met together and had their common meal we may be sure they did not forget to 'say grace'. Indeed this is no guess, for we read that they took their food with gladness and singleness of heart, praising GOD (Acts ii, 46). It was then that they felt most certain that the Spirit of Jesus, their risen Lord and Master, was most certainly with them, helping them to praise GOD rightly. And it was because these early Christian graces mainly consisted of thanking GOD for His benefits that this common meal soon came to be called Eucharist, which means 'Thanksgiving'.

We still have an example of the kind of words used in these early Christian graces, preserved in the work called

the *Didache* (i.e. *The Teaching*).¹ Over the cup of wine is to be said:

We give Thee thanks, our Father, for the holy Vine of David Thy child, which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus Thy Child: to Thee be the glory for ever.

And over the piece of bread:

We give Thee thanks, our Father, for the life and knowledge, which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus Thy Child: to Thee be the glory for ever. As this piece of bread was once scattered over the hills and now is gathered and become one piece, so let Thy Church be gathered from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom, for Thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever.²

Then the *Didache*, after ordering that no one shall eat or drink of the Eucharist except those baptized in the name of the LORD, goes on to prescribe the following grace 'after being filled':

We give Thee thanks, Holy Father, for Thy Holy Name, which Thou hast made to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus Thy Child: to Thee be the glory for ever. Thou, Lord Almighty, didst create all things for Thy Name's sake, and food and drink didst give to men for enjoyment that they might give thanks to Thee; and to us Thou didst grant spiritual food and drink and life eternal through Thy Child. Before all things we give thanks to Thee; for Thou art mighty, to Thee be the glory for ever.

¹ The *Didache* is a very ancient manual which begins by giving a sort of Christian's Duty to God and to his Neighbour, and then goes on to say how Christian Baptism and the Christian Sacred Meal should be conducted, followed by directions about the organization of the community. It is as old as the second century.

² The word here translated 'Child' (παῖς) is the same as is used in the prayers of Acts iv, 25, 27. Like the colloquial English 'boy' it means either son or servant.

Remember, Lord, Thy Church to deliver it from all evil and to perfect it in Thy love, and gather it from the four winds sanctified into Thy kingdom, which Thou hast prepared for it: for Thine is the power and the glory for ever. May grace come and this world pass away! Hosanna to the God of David!

If any be holy, let him come; if any be not, let him repent.
Maranatha! Amen.

The word *Maranatha* (see 1 Cor. xvi, 22) means 'Our Lord, come!' It is the same thought as in Rev. xxii, 20 ('Come, Lord Jesus'), the hope and expectation of a second coming of our Lord to judge the world and vindicate the Christians. At the same time its use in this ancient Eucharistic 'grace' may indicate that the Christians felt that the Lord Jesus was specially present among them when they were gathered together and had their family repast together.

It should be added that it is not certain that these graces represent the use of any particular Church. More probably they are what an early writer, writing some time in the second century, understood to have been the sort of grace that was used in Apostolic times.

What is certain is that this common meal of the early Christians did not continue long unmodified, and that another type of gathering took its place. Various causes contributed to the modification. We can see from what St Paul says that there was a danger that the assemblies might degenerate into more or less disorderly banquets.¹ Further, it was soon found impossible for Christians, many of whom

¹ 1 Cor. xi, 21.

were slaves, to come together for supper: it was easier to meet at dawn before work-day hours began. And even if the objection were made that the Last Supper, of which the Eucharist was in some way a representation, was held in the evening, it could be answered that Christians by their early morning service were celebrating the resurrection of our Lord.¹

THE EUCHARIST AND THE LAST SUPPER

We owe it greatly to St Paul that the Eucharist is so closely connected in our minds with the Last Supper of Jesus among His chosen Twelve Disciples and with His death on the Cross. If you read the account of the Last Supper in St Mark's Gospel you will find no command to repeat what was done there, but St Paul in his account of what Jesus did adds that He said, 'This do for my memorial' (1 Cor. xi, 24), and St Paul further tells the Corinthians to whom he is writing that whenever they come together for their meal it is our Lord's death that they celebrate.

It is not to be thought of that early Christians, even St Paul himself, had quite definite and mechanical ideas of what was effected in their meals of Holy Communion, any more than they knew exactly how the death of Jesus upon the Cross reconciled them to GOD and produced a new association of GOD and man. What they knew was that now that they were Christians they had become part of a new

¹ For the arguments here repeated, see Cyprian, *Epistle* 63, § 16.

family with GOD as their Father and their fellow-Christians as their brothers and sisters, that this had been somehow effected through the death of the Lord Jesus, and that in eating and drinking the bread and wine of their common meal they renewed in themselves the Holy Spirit which they believed themselves to have received when they first became Christians.¹

EARLY CHRISTIAN FORMS OF SERVICES

Early Christian services can be grouped under three heads: (1) Holy Communion, (2) Baptism, (3) Psalm-singing.

(1) It is not to be expected that the oldest forms used at Holy Communion should have survived, for there was a long period during which the forms were not fixed, and the person presiding spoke and prayed and blessed GOD without fixed forms. But the proceedings came to be more and more standardized. We have an account dating from just after A.D. 150 of what was done at Rome. They met on Sundays, and after some general prayers and readings the congregation greeted one another with a kiss in token of fellowship, then bread and wine (mixed with water, as was the universal custom in the ancient world) was brought in, and the president said grace over it to GOD the Father of all through the name of the Son and the Holy Spirit, all

¹ At this point the accounts of the Last Supper should be studied, first Mk. xiv, 22-25, then Lk. xxii, 14-19a (19b-20, as noted in R.V. mg., is an interpolation); lastly 1 Cor. xi, 23-26.

present responding *Amen*, which means 'So be it!' Then the deacons distributed the bread and wine, thus consecrated, to those who were present and took portions to those who were absent. Our authority, Justin the Martyr, goes on to tell us that none but those who have been baptized are allowed to eat this food, which was itself called 'Eucharist', for they understood that the food blessed by the prayer, from which their own flesh and blood was nourished in due course, was the flesh and blood of Jesus Who had been 'made flesh', even as the Gospels say in their account of the Last Supper (Justin, *Apol.* i, 65-67).

Some fifty or sixty years later than this we have an actual form of the prayer, given as a pattern for a bishop the first time he conducts the service. Here we shall find some of the words still used today. The bishop says, 'The Lord be with you', and all reply, 'And with thy spirit'. He says, 'Hearts, up!' ¹ and they reply, 'We have them to the Lord'. He says, 'Let us give thanks to the Lord', and they reply, 'It is meet and right'. Then follows the prayer in which the bishop thanks GOD for His beloved Child Jesus Christ, whom He sent from Heaven to become man and to suffer in order to set us free who believe, who before his passion took bread and gave thanks to Him, saying, 'Take, eat; this is my body which is broken for you': Likewise also the cup, saying, 'This is my blood, which is poured out for you; when you do this, you make my commemoration'.

¹ In Latin, *Sursum corda*; in Greek the earliest surviving form is *ἀνω ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας*.

Then it goes on: 'Remembering therefore his death and resurrection we offer to Thee bread and cup, giving Thee thanks that Thou hast allowed us to stand before Thee and minister to Thee. And we beg that Thou send Thy holy spirit into the offering of the holy Church: do Thou gather into one and give to all the saints who partake a full portion of holy spirit for the confirmation of faith in truth, that we may praise and glorify Thee through Thy Child Jesus Christ, through whom be to Thee glory and honour, to Father and Son with holy spirit, in Thy holy Church both now and for ever. Amen'.¹

In these words we see a very early form of the Consecration Prayer used in the English Book of Common Prayer, and also in the Roman Missal (or Mass-Book): not indeed quite the earliest form, for there is something to be said for the view that regards the absence in the Roman Missal of any definite mention of the sending down of holy spirit into the offering as an even more primitive feature than what is attested by this prayer.

(2) Baptism, i.e. something which corresponds to a bath, is the rite of admission into the Church. In early days, especially while Christianity was an unlicensed religion and liable to persecution, people were not baptized till they were ready to face the dangers and disabilities involved in being a Christian. Many trades and professions were too much connected with heathenism for Christians to practise

¹ Hauler, *Verona Canons*, p. 106 f. For clearness I have reserved capitals for the pronouns which refer to the Father.

them, including most of the public services. Those who did wish to become Christians were first instructed in the chief points of Christian belief and in Christian conduct: in this stage they were called 'catechumens', and they were not allowed to be present at the Holy Communion. When they did come to be baptized they were asked to profess their belief, generally by question and answer, e.g. 'Do you believe in God the Father, Jesus Christ His Son, our Lord, holy Spirit and the resurrection of the flesh?' And the catechumen would answer: 'I believe'. Such questions and answers became fixed, and are the germ of what we now call 'the Apostles' Creed'.

Baptism was generally administered just before Easter, or sometimes just before Pentecost. The newly-baptized were dressed in white, and the Sunday after Easter (after which those baptized at Easter left off their white dress) is called in Latin *Dominica in albis*.

(3) Psalm-singing should be mentioned here, because it is the foundation of all the Christian daily and weekly services except the Eucharist. At the weekly service, before the Sacred Meal with its solemn grace began, there were readings from the Old and New Testaments, which survive to-day in what is called the Epistle and the Gospel. These readings were sometimes long and were taken from all parts of the Bible. The custom of reading the Gospel last, with everyone standing while it was read, is very old: in the East it has been done ever since the third century.¹

¹ See below, p. 54 note.

But at other times than the weekly Eucharist the regular service for Christians was to repeat the Psalms. This became standardized from the fourth century onwards, when Christianity had become the State religion and pious persons were able to devote themselves wholly to what were thought to be religious exercises. 'At midnight arise', says St Athanasius in his Rules for women who had withdrawn from the world to be what we should now call nuns, 'and say first "At midnight I have arisen to give thanks to Thee for the judgements of Thy righteousness"', and pray and begin to say all the 51st Psalm to the end, and let this be a rule for every day. But say as many Psalms as you can, standing; and at each Psalm make a prayer and a bending of the knee, with tears confessing your sins and begging that they be forgiven. And after every three Psalms say *Alleluia*.'¹ These directions for the daily prayers of some pious ladies who were living about A.D. 350 are the earliest surviving trace of the Order for Morning and Evening Prayer in our Prayer-Book.

THE CLERGY

The Book of Common Prayer asserts that bishops, priests, and deacons have all existed from the earliest days of Christianity, but if by this is meant that the persons so named had the same sort of duties as they now have the assertion is inaccurate. By derivation *bishop* means 'over-seer' or 'inspector', *priest* (or *presbyter*) means 'elder',

¹ Athanasius, *De Virginitate*, 20.

deacon means 'servant'. It was natural that responsibility in the earliest Christian communities should be committed to senior men, and so we find Paul and Barnabas appointing 'elders' in towns where they had made converts (Acts xiv, 23), and when Paul was at Miletus and could not visit Ephesus he sent for the 'elders' or 'seniors' of the Christians in Ephesus to come to him (Acts xx, 17). How these men arranged matters among themselves we do not know. One church leader at the end of the first century, the writer of the letters known as '2 and 3 John', called himself 'the elder' without other title. But he must have been among the last of the first generation of believers, and very early in the second century we find Ignatius at Antioch insisting that each Christian community must have a single president, who alone has authority to conduct Christian worship, though it appears that this included power to authorize others to do so, if he thinks convenient. This president got the name of bishop, which seems to be used as an alternative for elder in Phil. i, 1. The deacon, who was the servant of the Church, became the bishop's official servant. He was the treasurer and business man of the community, for it was his duty to distribute charity to widows and orphans and other needy persons. In this system the elders became a kind of council, who sat in church in a special honourable place. The arrangement was something like what is so often seen nowadays at public meetings, where there is a chairman, a secretary, and a body of important people on the platform, often called the committee. It is not easy to find

out what were the powers or the duties of these elders or presbyters: very likely it was mostly by way of advising the bishop or adding weight to his rulings. Naturally, the early bishops of whom we know most were masterful personalities who did not need to rely on their council of elders, but lesser men would be much influenced by their views.

When the local church grew too large a new community was started with a new bishop chosen by the people but ordained by other bishops. The normal state of things therefore was one congregation, one bishop, one (or two) deacons, one council of elders.

The most obscure point in the developement is not the growth of what is called 'monarchical episcopacy', but the growth of what we now call a 'parish' presided over by one of the presbyters to whom the bishop has delegated some but not all of his powers. This innovation probably took place at Rome or Antioch, or some other great city, where the Christian community was an obvious unity, yet had become too large to remain a single congregation.

No new 'order' was thus founded: the licensed presbyter was regarded as a not fully consecrated bishop. We may notice in passing two indications of the view here given of the relations of priests and bishops. In Roman Canon Law the 'Holy Orders' are reckoned as three, but they are priests, deacons, and subdeacons.¹ In the English Prayer-

¹ Subdeacons were abolished in the Church of England at the Reformation. They begin to be heard of in the seventh century, when the deacon had become a great official.

Book we find the 'Ordering' of priests and of deacons, but the 'Consecration' of bishops: in other words, the newly-consecrated bishop has advanced to a higher office, but he has not entered a new Order.

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CHAPTER THREE

CHRISTIANITY IN THE DARK AGES

THE long period from Constantine, the first Christian Emperor, to the Reformation, i.e. from about 320 to 1520, comes next under consideration. It is futile to try to study the changes in the forms of Christian worship and the ideas held about it during this long period of 1200 years without taking into account some of the main events of general history. During all this time the Church played such a leading part in affairs that the history of worship can hardly be understood apart from the general story of human civilization.

At the outset, however, it may be noted (by anticipation) that three tendencies are present, the growth (1) of greater elaboration of forms of services, (2) of greater definiteness of ideas about services, and (3) of superstitions about services.

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE DARK AGES

In general history we start with the Catholic Church victorious in a great State which included nearly all the then civilized world. In the next 300 years the State collapsed: in the West the Roman Empire was overrun by barbarians from the North, including our ancestors the English; in the East and South it was overrun by the barbarian followers

of Mohammed, to whom the Christian populations of North Africa, Egypt and Syria (including Jerusalem and all the 'Holy Land') tamely submitted about the years 630-40. These territorial losses were accompanied with a general decay of learning, of art, of culture of every kind.

The results in the eastern and western halves of what had been the Roman Empire were very different. In the East after the first collapse the Greek-speaking provinces rallied, and Constantinople with Macedonia and Anatolia, i.e. the land now occupied by the Turks, remained for some 700 years a bulwark of civilization and a repository of the old learning. But this re-organized Byzantine Empire failed to regain the eastern and southern countries occupied by the Mohammedans in the seventh century, and moreover in itself it was intellectually stagnant. In the West the Roman civil government ceased altogether. Various 'Gothic', i.e. more or less German, chieftains set up kingdoms for themselves in the various parts of Western Europe. Learning and regular administration came to an end: it is the period known as the Dark Ages, a period roughly extending in the West from A.D. 500 to 800. But the Christian Church, with its centre at Rome, survived: its great achievement during this period of ignorance and anarchy is the general conversion of the western barbarians, including the English, to the Catholic religion. Some of the invading tribes, like the English, had been heathen; others, such as the Ostrogoths and the Lombards in Italy, the Burgundians in southern Gaul, and the Visigoths in Spain,

had been Arian heretics, but by A.D. 800 all had joined the great Church and become obedient to Rome.

Three decisive dates may here be given as turning-points in the ecclesiastical history of the Dark Ages:

A.D. 496. Conversion and baptism of Clovis, King of the Franks.

A.D. 596. Pope Gregory the Great sends Augustine to Canterbury.¹

A.D. 696. Adamnan, Abbot of Hy (= 'Iona'), adopts the Roman tonsure.

The first date marks the first conversion of one of the ruling barbarian chieftains to the Roman obedience. The second is the beginning of the conversion of the English. The third is the most marked date in the assimilation of Celtic Christianity to the Roman model.

THE MONKS

Something must be said here about the monks, and particularly about the part played during the Dark Ages by the Benedictine Order. In the old days before Constantine, when Christianity was an illegal and sometimes a persecuted religion, the Christian Society consisted to a very great extent of people who so vividly realized the small importance of earthly concerns in comparison with eternal salvation that they were willing to undergo danger and discomfort and to forgo all worldly ambition. Moreover, there was a widespread sentiment among Christians, traces of

¹ In this, or the following year, St Columba died at Hy.

which can be found in the New Testament,¹ that to be married and have a family was a less truly Christian state than to stay single.² But when the Roman Empire became Christian and all sorts and conditions of men pressed into the Church, the rules of 'Christian' life became relaxed, and then many of the earnest men and women, whose religion was really that of the earlier, more dangerous times, felt that they could no longer bear to live in ordinary society. They wanted to be alone with their souls and God. Many, including some of great wealth and station, abandoned their property and their relations and went away into desert places, especially to the Egyptian deserts, where a man needs nothing but water and a few vegetables. They were called monks (*μοναχοί*) because they lived alone, or hermits because they lived in the desert (*ἐρημος*). Wonderful tales were told about their austerities: it was not doubted that they were living the ideal life. One man was said to have fasted for a whole month, another for forty days, another stood all night looking East with his arms outstretched till the rising sun shone on his face. These feats of asceticism were reported and admired by the world; what was not so reported was the frequent collapse and even disillusionment which must often have occurred after some of these unnatural practices. 'It is not good for a man to be alone'—too much alone—and

¹ See 1 Cor. vii, 1, 32, 38.

² On this whole subject see F. C. Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, ch. iv.

wiser devotees grouped themselves in associations under a leader, whose Rule of life they promised to obey. St Basil in the fourth century did much to encourage this conventual, collegiate, type of the ascetic life, and his writings influenced the Rule of St Benedict, who founded about the year 529 at Monte Cassino (halfway between Rome and Naples) a community which became a model for all subsequent associations of monks in Western Europe.¹ In many ways Christian worship as organized in Benedictine monasteries set fashions which were afterwards generally adopted.

The monks represent a mainly lay movement: the duties and responsibilities from which they had fled included those of the priesthood. Modern monks become ordained almost as a matter of course, but in the Dark Ages the ordained monk was the exception, not the rule. Neither Pachomius, the founder of Egyptian regular monastic life, nor his successor Horsiesius, was ever ordained, and St Benedict died a deacon only. Among the refugees from secular life of which the monastic communities consisted there were always to be found some priests, and these sufficed for the monks' Eucharists. Their other non-liturgical (i.e. non-sacramental) services will be considered later. Nothing more clearly illustrates the difference between the ancient and the late mediæval conception of the priesthood

¹ See the final chapter of the Benedictine Rule for an acknowledgement of the influence of St Basil. The year 529 may be regarded as the end of the Classical Age, for in that year Justinian suppressed the Platonic Academy at Athens.

than this large lay element among the monks. According to later ideas the Christian priest was above all the minister of the Eucharistic sacrifice, and the sacrifice became his daily duty: on this theory there was every reason for the monk who had devoted his career to religion to become a priest. In earlier times this work had indeed been part of clerical duty, but the chief part was to rule and administer in the Christian congregation: the bishop, and afterwards the licensed presbyter, was pastor first and minister at the altar second.¹

CELTIC CHRISTIANITY

Christianity reached Britain late in the third century or very early in the fourth: bishops of Londinium (London) and Eboracum (York) attended a synod at Arles in 314. But of the history of this British Christianity we know very little, and of its worship we know practically nothing. In the fifth and sixth centuries Britain was occupied by the heathen English, and Christianity survived only in South Wales. Such organization as can be traced is monastic.²

In Ireland Christianity had obtained a footing before the days of St Patrick, who died in 461 (the same year as St Leo, the great bishop of Rome). Patrick founded Armagh, and did much to spread religion in various parts of the island. He had been educated in Gaul, possibly under

¹ See particularly the ordination forms in the *Leonine Sacramentary* (ed. Feltoe, p. 122, ll. 30 ff.).

² See F. C. Burkitt, 'St Samson of Dol', *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, xxvii, 42-57.

St Martin of Tours. What is certain is that the whole organization of Christianity in Ireland was monastic. There were bishops, of course, through whom orders were conferred, but they were little more than chaplains in the monks' settlements, the head of which often was a layman. There is no trace of a parochial arrangement. Irish Christianity was not unorthodox, but it was in very loose connexion with Rome and with continental Christendom generally. It was outside the old Roman Empire and its customs were old-fashioned, irregular, 'barbarian'. Like Patrick himself it was not, and never had been, deeply learned, but the missionaries were the representatives of a better religion and a better civilization than that of the native Irishry, and they won their way by their zeal and conviction without the support of material force.

Apart from the above-mentioned monastic constitution, the chief peculiarities of Irish Christianity were a non-Roman rule for calculating Easter and a different arrangement of the monk's tonsure. These are to be regarded as old-fashioned peculiarities, long cherished by the Irish monks as symbols of loyalty to their national traditions, not as relics of some purer and antique Eastern connexion. The chief contribution of Irish Christianity to the rest of the world was the missions issuing from the outlying settlement of Irish monks at Hy, now called Iona, an island off Mull in Scotland, where St Columba founded a monastery in 563. The most famous are the mission of Aidan, which resulted in the evangelization of Northumbria, and that of

Columbanus, who founded the great monasteries of Luxeuil in Burgundy and Bobbio in the Apennines : connected with Columbanus is Gallus, who founded the monastery at St Gallen in Switzerland.

From just before A.D. 700 the Irish monks, both at Hy and on the Continent, gave up their peculiar tonsure and their Easter-reckoning, and their customs tended ever more and more to be assimilated to those of the rest of Western Christendom. In the history of the Liturgy the thing to be remembered is the great distance of Irish centres of thought and custom from the main stream of Christian life. This worked in two ways : on the one hand Irish books are 'behind the age', which in practice means that they sometimes preserve readings and traditions older than might be expected from their date, on the other hand they contain many mistakes and confusions due to the ignorance of insular scribes. It is only by comparison with the ignorance that overspread Gaul and Italy owing to the political troubles of the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries that ancient Ireland ever acquired a reputation for learning.

CHARLEMAGNE AND THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

On Christmas Day, 800, in St Peter's at Rome, Pope Leo III crowned Charles the Great, better known as Charlemagne, as Emperor of the West. By this act the period between Constantine and the Reformation is divided into two nearly equal halves, and in the following generation the mediæval period may be said to have begun.

Charlemagne had become ruler over a vast dominion that extended from beyond the Pyrenees to the Elbe and included also the greater part of Italy and of Austria. The barbarian immigrations were over: ¹ the Saxons, who might have furnished another wave of invasion, he drove back into their forests. Under his rule and encouragement there was a revival of learning all over the Western world. A new and more convenient style of handwriting (the 'Caroline minuscule') was invented, and practically the whole of Latin literature, both Christian and classical, was retranscribed during his reign or soon after. Charlemagne was his own Minister of Education and of Public Worship. He desired above all things regularity and order, and that his ignorant and more or less barbarian subjects should conduct their worship according to the correct, imperial, Roman forms, as practised by the Pope himself in what was called 'the holy catholic and apostolic first See'.²

Accordingly Pope Hadrian sent to Charlemagne at his request an authentic copy of the services as approved by St Gregory the Great. The design was that this should be the model for use in all the Empire. It was found, however, that supplements were needed, and first an official one, then various more or less unofficial supplements were added. It was this revised and modified Roman Prayer-Book that came into general use all over the West.

¹ The Normans (who came by sea, not by land) appeared just before Charlemagne died.

² See a letter of Pope Hadrian I (794), quoted by Edmund Bishop, *Mon. Germ. Concil.* II, 122 ff.

It is a probable conjecture that the official supplement above mentioned was drawn up by the learned Englishman Alcuin, who had been taught at York in the palmy days of Northern England before the Danish invasions, and had afterwards at Charlemagne's special invitation come to live first at Aachen and then at Tours, so as to be in touch with Charlemagne himself and his ecclesiastical projects.

ROME AND THE POPE

A few words may be added here, not as an adequate account of 'the rise of the Papacy', which belongs rather to books on Church history, but to indicate what Rome and the bishop of Rome stood for during the period which ends with Charlemagne. We must remember that it is the period of the collapse of the old civilization, and that even at the end of the period the modern world is hardly yet in being. Even the English were not yet united into one nation, nor was France divided from Germany. Spain, except for a narrow strip in the north, was in the hands of Mohammedan Moors from Africa. In all the West only one institution seemed to have stood firm, a link both with the days of ancient civilization and with primitive, apostolic, Christianity. This was not Rome itself, for the ancient city had been sacked and plundered, but the bishop of Rome, the guardian of the venerated tombs of St Peter and St Paul. He was the link which gave the new half-tamed, half-educated barbarians and the relics of the old

provincial institutions a living connexion with the Church of the Apostles.

And this was more than mere sentiment, much more than any theory (if such can be traced) of transmission of mysterious virtue by ritual acts. The bishops of Rome and the tradition of the local Roman Church all through this period were dominated by a conservative tradition. The great bishops, Leo (440-461) and Gregory (590-604), were not innovators but conservers; and while all around in the Church the general tendencies were towards change, to new forms of worship, to new doctrines and new superstitions, acceptable to the half-trained and enthusiastic temperament of the 'Gothic' invaders, the strictly Roman tendency towards directness, simplicity, dignity, was upheld by Leo and Gregory and their successors.

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE ANAPHORA OR EUCHARISTIC CANON

IN the year 451 a General Council of the Church was held at Chalcedon near Constantinople, in which the Faith was defined. It was at this Council that the creed which we repeat in the Communion Service was approved. At the same Council Christendom was divided into five Patriarchates, or chief Provinces, viz. Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem. Corresponding to these five Patriarchates we find five types of Liturgy, i.e. forms for celebrating the Eucharist. None of these survive in their earlier forms, but their present representatives are the Roman Missal for Rome, the Liturgies of St Chrysostom and of St Basil for Constantinople, the Liturgy of St Mark for Alexandria, the Liturgy of St James for Jerusalem, and (as may be conjectured with great probability) the Syriac Liturgy 'of the Apostles' (i.e. Addai and Mari), now used by the Nestorian or East-Syrian Christians, for Antioch.

A set of prayers used by Serapion, bishop of Thmuis in the Egyptian Delta, has fortunately been preserved, and from these we can more or less reconstruct the Eucharistic Service as he performed it. Serapion lived about A.D. 350—a century before the Council of Chalcedon—and was a

friend of the great Athanasius of Alexandria.¹ First came a prayer for Holy Spirit to be sent into the congregation that they might understand the Scriptures, then lessons were read (corresponding, of course, to our Epistle and Gospel), after which came a sermon and a short prayer. Then the catechumens were dismissed. The service then proceeded with prayers for various classes of people, rulers, the afflicted, the sick, etc., the clergy and the Church. A special prayer for forgiveness, for grace, and to be written in the Book of Life, follows; this was said kneeling. After this came, apparently, the kiss of peace; then the 'Lift up your hearts', leading to the long Prayer of Consecration (the grace before meat), which is called in the West the *Canon* and in the East the *Anaphora*. It will be well to quote a good deal of it, in order to shew both the resemblances and the differences between this early Egyptian rite and the Roman:²

It is meet and right to praise, to hymn, to glorify Thee the uncreated Father of the only-begotten Jesus Christ. We praise Thee, O uncreated God, unsearchable, ineffable, incomprehensible by any created substance. We praise Thee Who art known by the only-begotten Son, Who through him art spoken and interpreted and made known to created nature: we praise Thee Who dost know the Son and dost reveal to the saints the glories concerning him, Who art known by Thy begotten Word and art being seen and interpreted to the saints. We praise Thee,

¹ See the reconstruction by F. E. Brightman in the *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, 1, 99-108.

² I have generally followed the translation of Bishop John Wordsworth (S.P.C.K. 1899). As before, I only give capitals to pronouns referring to God the Father.

O unseen Father, provider of immortality. Thou art the fount of life, the fount of light, the fount of all grace and all truth, O lover of man, O lover of the poor, . . . we beg Thee make us living men, give us a spirit of light. . . . Let the Lord Jesus and holy Spirit speak in us and hymn Thee through us. For Thou art far above all rule and authority and power. . . . Beside Thee stand thousand thousands and myriad myriads of angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, powers: by Thee stand the two most honourable six-winged Seraphim, with two wings covering the face, with two the feet, with two flying, who cry 'Holy', with whom receive our cry, saying

'Holy, holy, holy, Lord Sabaoth, full is the heaven and the earth of Thy glory'.

This is the earliest certain trace of the use of the *Sanctus* (from Isaiah vi, 3, Rev. iv, 8) in the Liturgy. It is absent from the ancient form quoted above in Chapter II,¹ and there is some reason to think it not quite primitive in the oldest Nestorian Liturgy. But apart from these relics of the very earliest times it is universally found both in the East and in the West. The fact that no tradition is known when or by whom the *Sanctus* was first introduced into the service is one of the most striking illustrations of how little we know of the early history of Christian worship.²

After the *Sanctus* Serapion's grace continues thus:

Full is the heaven, full also is the earth of Thy excellent glory, O Lord of Hosts: fill also this sacrifice with Thy power and Thy

¹ P. 22. The *Sanctus* is also absent from the Ethiopic *Statutes of the Apostles* (ed. G. Horner, p. 140), so that the Verona text has other support.

² The oriental Manichees said *Qādōsh, qādōsh, qādōsh* (i.e. 'Holy, holy, holy'), as an acclamation to GOD, and also as an epithet of 'Jesus': it is not clear from what source they derived this formula.

participation, for to Thee have we offered this living sacrifice, this bloodless offering. To Thee we have offered this bread, the likeness of the Body of the Only-begotten: this bread is a likeness of the holy Body, because the Lord Jesus Christ in the night that he was betrayed took bread and broke and gave to his disciples saying 'Take and eat, this is my Body that is being broken for you for remission of sins'. Wherefore we also making the likeness of the Death have offered the bread, and we beseech Thee through this sacrifice be reconciled to all of us and be merciful, O God of the Truth. And as this bread had been scattered upon the mountains and when gathered together came to be one, so also gather Thy holy Church out of every nation and every city and village and house, and make one living catholic Church.

And we have offered also the cup, the likeness of the Blood, because the Lord Jesus Christ took a cup after supper and said to his disciples 'Take ye, drink, this is the New Covenant, which is my Blood which is being shed for you for remission of sins'. Wherefore we also have offered the cup, presenting a likeness of the Blood.

It should be noticed particularly (1) that the bread and wine are solemnly offered to GOD in remembrance of the Last Supper, (2) that the account of the Last Supper is only narrative and is not supposed to consecrate the bread and wine. It should further be noticed that in this prayer a phrase has been taken from the grace before meat in the *Didache*. The solemn prayer for GOD to consecrate the bread and wine, technically called the 'Epiclesis' or 'Invocation', follows:

May Thy holy Word, O God of the Truth, come upon this bread that the bread may become the body of the Word, and on this cup that the cup may become the blood of the Truth; and make all who communicate to receive a medicine of life for the healing of every sickness and for the strengthening of all advance-

ment and virtue, not for condemnation, O God of the Truth, and not for censure and reproach, for we have invoked Thee, the Uncreated, through the Only-begotten in holy Spirit.

Then follows immediately a general intercession for the living, and for the dead, who were recited by name, probably from a special list kept for the purpose; then a petition for those who had offered, ending:

And grant health and soundness and cheerfulness and all advancement of soul and body to this whole people, through Thy only-begotten Jesus Christ in holy Spirit, as it was and is and shall be to generations of generations and to all the ages of ages. Amen.

No doubt the people answered 'Amen' audibly, as was generally the custom.

It will be noted how elaborate and diffuse this form is compared with the 'Verona Canons' given in Chapter II. We shall go on to compare this with the Roman Canon. But it must be pointed out that the great peculiarity of Serapion's prayer is that it contains what is called an Epiclesis of the Logos, i.e. GOD is invoked to consecrate the bread and wine by sending His *Word*. In the other Eastern rites there is an Epiclesis of the *Holy Spirit*, i.e. GOD is invoked to consecrate the bread and wine by sending the Holy Spirit into them.

THE EPICLESIS OF (OR FOR) THE HOLY SPIRIT

Many students of Liturgy in the past have supposed that an invocation of (or rather, for) the Holy Spirit was very ancient, if not Apostolic. It is absent, as we shall see,

from the Roman Canon, and there it has often been supposed that an invocation of GOD for the Holy Spirit has been cut out. But there is no real ancient evidence for this: the absence of this kind of invocation from the Roman Canon is rather to be regarded as evidence that such an invocation was not primitive. And here again, as in so many other departments of the study of Christian worship, we have to consider the matter in the light of general Church history. The term 'holy spirit' has not always meant the same thing. In fully developed Christian theology 'the Holy Spirit' is recognized as a third constituent of the Divine Nature. Not that we are to think of GOD as a sort of committee of separable personalities! *Persona*, or ὑπόστασις, does not mean 'person' as we now use the word. What the doctrine of the Holy Spirit suggests is that 'GOD' is outside us—we pray *to* Him: Jesus also is 'gone away'—He is not with us as He was with the disciples in Galilee; yet there is something in us that is truly divine, something not ourselves but better than ourselves, helping us to pray to our Father and to make us akin to Jesus: we call this 'the Holy Spirit', and however much it brings us near—in real communication with—GOD it is nevertheless something different from 'the Father' or 'Jesus'. But in the early days of Christianity this Holy Spirit was commonly thought of in a less independent way, more as an operation of GOD than as a distinct constituent of our idea of GOD. 'By the *Word* of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the hosts of them by the

Breath (or *Spirit*) of his mouth' (Psalm xxxiii, 6): this does not mean that GOD the Word made the heavens, but GOD the Holy Spirit made the hosts of heaven; 'word' and 'spirit' here only mean the operation or energy of GOD. And similarly, when in the ancient prayer of the Verona Canons (see Chapter II, p. 23) GOD is asked to send His holy spirit into the offering so that the congregation may be filled with holy spirit, I do not think that the idea of the Divine Trinity was in the mind of the writer, but only of 'GOD' and His grace and influence. The Roman Invocation does not prescribe to GOD with which part of Himself He is to perform a miracle, but only asks Him so to bless the bread and wine that it may be to us the Body and Blood of Christ. It is morally impossible that so simple and untechnical a petition can have been the result of a critical revision in the fourth or fifth century.

THE ROMAN CANON

We must now compare the main ideas of Serapion's prayer with the Consecration Prayer in the Roman Eucharist, commonly called the Mass. And first about the word 'Mass'. The word 'Mass', as used in England since the Reformation, has come to imply all the ideas and the superstitions connected with Holy Communion which are most distasteful to 'Protestants', but in itself it has no doctrinal meaning whatever. The Latin for it is *Missa*, which seems to be used in the Benedictine Rule (A.D. 529) for a formula of dismissal at the end of any sort of daily

prayers: towards the end of the Roman Eucharist the priest says, *Ite, missa est* ('Go, this is the dismissal'), and from this formula *Missa* seems to have come in as a convenient term for the whole service. In any case, by the time of King Alfred *mæsse* had become the regular English word.¹

The full name for the Roman Consecration Prayer is the *Canon Actionis*, i.e. the Rule for the Action—as one might say 'the rule of how to do it'. This name will help us to remember that according to what is believed about this prayer it is not only a supplication, but something is done in the course of it. We shall come to this later; here are the words. After the preface (the *Sursum corda*, 'Lift up your hearts') the priest goes on to say:

² It is very meet and right, just and salutary, that we should always and everywhere give thanks to Thee, holy Lord, almighty Father, eternal God, through Christ our Lord, through whom Thy majesty is praised by angels, adored by dominions, feared by the powers of all the heavens, and extolled by the blessed Seraphim in united exultation, with whom we beg that Thou command our voices also to be admitted with lowly utterance saying 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Sabaoth. Full are the heavens and the earth of Thy glory! Hosanna in the highest! Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord! Hosanna in the highest!'

Note that though the *Sanctus* itself is so much fuller, yet

¹ Old ballads sometimes talk of a Mess-parson, i.e. a Roman priest. It is only in modern times that the pronunciation 'Mahss' has come into use. 'Christmas' and 'Michaelmas' preserve the proper English sound for the word 'Mass'.

² The various parts of the Roman Canon are known and spoken of by their first words. This is *Vere dignum*.

this form is less than half as long as Serapion's. If the Seraphim (from Isaiah vi) are to be brought in at all appropriately it could hardly be done with fewer or more dignified words.

Immediately after the *Sanctus* comes the Canon proper. ¹It begins by praying GOD to accept the bread and wine and other offerings at this particular service, offered as it is for the Church in general, the Pope, the bishop of the diocese, and all Christian people. Here follows ²a list of names, then ³a clause asking again for acceptance and favour, which is designed to make the beginning of the Canon, interrupted as it were by the list, join on with what follows, viz. the clause in which the priest asks GOD to consecrate the bread and wine. It runs thus:

⁴And this offering do Thou, O God, deign to make in every way blessed, ascribed, valid, reasonable, and acceptable, that it may be to us the Body and Blood of Thy well-beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, who ⁵on the day before he suffered took bread in his holy and venerable hands...saying, 'This is my Body'; in like manner after supper...saying, 'Take ye and drink of it all of you, for this is the cup of my Blood of the new and eternal Covenant, the Mystery of faith, which for you and for many is poured out for remission of sins: this, as often as ye do it, ye will do for my memorial'.

⁶Wherefore also, Lord, both we Thy servants and Thy holy people remembering both the blessed passion of Christ Thy Son our Lord, and not only his resurrection from hell but also his

¹ *Te igitur.*

² *Communicantes.* The list begins with the Virgin Mary, then Peter and Paul, then the chief Apostles and some early Popes, etc.

³ *Hanc igitur.*

⁴ *Quam oblationem.*

⁵ *Qui pridie.*

⁶ *Unde et memores.*

glorious ascension into the heavens, offer to Thy resplendent majesty from Thy gifts bestowed a Sacrifice pure, a Sacrifice holy, a Sacrifice without spot, the holy Bread of eternal life and the Cup of everlasting salvation.

¹ Then the priest begs that this Sacrifice may be accepted as of old the sacrifices of Abel, of Abraham, of Melchizedek were accepted, and he goes on to say:

² We humbly ask Thee, Almighty God, command these things to be carried by the hands of Thy holy Angel to Thy exalted Altar in the sight of Thy divine Majesty, that as many of us as shall have taken the most holy Body and Blood of Thy Son by this participation from the altar may be filled with all heavenly benediction and grace, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

³ Then comes a commemoration of the dead, which is probably not an original feature in all Roman Masses, but only in commemorative ones, and lastly ⁴ a final prayer that we may in the end be united with apostles and martyrs, 'not weighing our merits but pardoning our offences', and ending with a doxology ascribing ⁵ all honour and glory to God through Christ.

CONSECRATION AND SACRIFICE IN THE ROMAN RITE

The Christian Eucharist is the Christian equivalent of the religious services (to use the vaguest word) of Jews and Pagans. In ancient times religious services were of the nature of sacrifices. The Christian Eucharist is thus either a sacrifice, or the equivalent for a sacrifice. In a sacrifice

¹ *Supra quae.*

³ *Memento etiam.*

⁵ *Omnis honor et gloria.*

² *Supplices.*

⁴ *Nobis quoque peccatoribus.*

two things are required, viz. (1) a proper victim, duly consecrated; and (2) the offering of the victim to the God.

Christian doctrine teaches that Christ's death on Calvary made a new association between man and God, that the old sacrifices came to an end because the Sacrifice on Calvary made all other sacrifices superfluous and impertinent. If therefore the Eucharist, the Sacred Meal of Christians, is to be appropriate as the expression of 'our reasonable service' (λογικὴ λατρεία), then the only appropriate Victim is Christ Himself.¹ We should not offer bread and wine to God, we must try to make the Sacrifice of Calvary present again, we must re-present Calvary. But Christ at the Last Supper re-presented Calvary, by anticipation, so to speak: He said that the bread and wine which He gave to the Twelve was His Body and 'His Covenant Blood'. If we could do what Christ did, then we too should be validly re-presenting Calvary.

So Roman theology teaches that the priest, by doing what we read Christ did at the Supper and saying the same words (with some slight and almost necessary modification), effects what Christ then effected. It is understood that when Christ said of the bread 'This is My Body' it had become His Body and (as Roman Catholics believe) it is bread no longer. The priest in the service is understood to effect the same change, so that at the last words of the sacred formula the bread is changed into Christ's Body,

¹ St Cyprian says 'the sacrifice which we offer is the Passion of the Lord' (*Epist.* lxiii, 17.)

and the contents of the cup into Christ's Blood. Nothing happens, of course, that we can see or taste: the change is something invisible, intangible, peculiar, and therefore this peculiar change is called by the peculiar term 'transubstantiation'.

A change of this sort, if it really happens, must be miraculous, and for a man to perform it would be magic. If it be done, it must be done by GOD, and so before the priest comes to the words and actions with which the change is believed to be effected he prays GOD to do it, in the prayer that begins with the words *Quam oblationem*. As a great mediæval Roman theologian puts it, 'the priest does not say from himself that he could be the creator of the Body and Blood . . . but he beseeches the Father through the Son, through whom we have access to Him'.¹

Well, then, if we accept the Roman view, we may believe that GOD has regarded the words and actions of the priest as valid, as *rata*, and so has made the Body and Blood of Christ present in his hands. This is Consecration: it is not yet Sacrifice. The priest must offer the Sacrifice to GOD. This he does with the words, 'we . . . offer . . . a Sacrifice without spot, the holy Bread of eternal life'. Notice that he does not here say 'we beg', or 'we beseech': the act of offering itself is no miracle, it is done by the priest in the name of the congregation.

Now the holy Victim has been solemnly offered to GOD, the priest and people have, so to speak, re-enacted Calvary.

¹ Paschasius Radbertus (Migne, *P.L.* cxx, 1312.)

But we cannot assume that the Sacrifice must be accepted: that depends not on us, but on GOD. So the priest goes on to beg GOD to accept what has been done, even as we read that He accepted what the Patriarchs offered of old, and he further prays (in *Supplices*, see p. 49 n. 2) that what we have done on earth may be confirmed in Heaven, so that all who partake of the Body and Blood of Christ on earth may be filled with heavenly blessing and grace.

Mere ritual will not consecrate the bread and wine, nor will mere ritual fill the Christians who join in the service with spiritual blessing, even though the miracle of 'transubstantiation' be effected.

It may be that 'transubstantiation' is incredible; it is certain that many superstitious ideas had come to be connected with the Mass by the beginning of the sixteenth century, and it may be these were inevitable. But before we can appreciate the Reformed worship, or condemn the unreformed service, it is necessary to have a clear idea of the structure of that service and of the principles underlying it.

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CHAPTER FIVE

SOME DEVELOPEMENTS OF CHRISTIAN WORSHIP

I. SUBSIDIARY FEATURES OF THE EUCCHARISTIC SERVICE

CHRISTIAN worship has centred in the Eucharist. In technical language the name 'Liturgy' belongs to this alone. The Sacred Meal of Holy Communion was and is the characteristic form of the worship of Christians. But the praise of GOD, prayer to GOD, and the reading of Holy Scripture, is also their duty and privilege. The Eucharistic Canon, considered in the last chapter, is sufficient in itself as the words which accompany and, so to speak, rationalize the 'sacrifice', but other prayers and readings accompanied the service from very early times.

(1) After the Canon the *Lord's Prayer* is solemnly said. This has been the custom in the Roman Church at least since the time of Gregory the Great.¹ It is the Roman custom to say the Lord's Prayer *sotto voce*, each one as it were for himself: when it occurs in public prayers the leader says *Pater noster* and then both leader and congregation say the rest silently, all responding aloud with the last clause *sed libera nos a malo*. But when said in the Liturgy after the Canon, the priest intones it all aloud.

¹ Epistles, bk. ix, no. 12: on this much-discussed letter see F. E. Brightman in *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, xxix, 161 (the point is that *oblationis* goes with *orationem* not with *hostiam*).

(2) Before the Canon there have been *Solemn Readings of the Bible* from the earliest times. The readings are referred to, for instance, by Justin Martyr.¹ In some rites these lections (or 'lessons') were very long: in the Syriac-speaking Church of Mesopotamia 400 verses were formerly read on Ascension Day, taken from all parts of the Bible. But now the readings are much shorter, and are only two in number, the first, called the Epistle, being generally taken from the New Testament Epistles (though a few come from other books), and the second from one of the Gospels. During the reading of the Gospel the whole congregation stands to attention: this ancient custom has prevailed ever since the third century.²

(3) Further, a profession of the Church's faith, called the *Creed*, is now recited by all after the Gospel. This custom is not immemorial. At Rome itself it was not the custom till after A.D. 1000, and then it was only done because the emperor insisted. Some words must be said in a later chapter about the propriety of such recitals of belief; at this point we need merely remark on the late date at which the custom reached Rome.

(4) The custom of crying out "Lord, have mercy!" is very

¹ See above, p. 21.

² The so-called Canons of Addai, which are certainly of the third century, say: 'At the conclusion of all the scriptures let the Gospel be read, as the seal of all the scriptures; and let the people listen to it standing up on their feet, because it is the glad tidings of the salvation of all men' (Cureton's *Ancient Syriac Documents*, p. 27).

ancient in Greek-speaking lands, going back to pagan times, as we see from a reference to it by the Stoic philosopher Epictetus. When Constantine set up a great pillar with his own statue on the top to be the 'Fortune' of his new city Constantinople there was a solemn (heathen) service and the people shouted *Kyrie eleison* a hundred times.¹ It began to come into use in the West in this Greek form by the end of the fifth century, and finally we hear of it (in 576) introduced at the beginning of the Mass. It seemed appropriate to begin the great Christian rite with a cry for mercy. But it is by no means an original part of the Eucharistic service.

(5) The *Collect* is a notable feature of Western prayer. The 'cry for mercy' which we have just considered is essentially a congregational prayer: to this day it is sung by the 'choir', the Latin for which—as should not be forgotten—is *chorus*. In early times the people's prayers were more extended, more vociferous, more tumultuous. This was not in accordance with the Roman feeling for dignity and simplicity and so 'the prayers of the faithful were gradually eliminated from the body of the Mass, and took the form of a litany, concluded by the prayer of the bishop, who thus collected in one the several petitions of the people. The collect was thus the *collecta* or *collectio*—the gathering together of the people's prayers'.² It should be

¹ See on this F. J. Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, ed. 2, pp. 70 ff.

² E. G. Cuthbert Atchley, *Ordo Romanus Primus*, p. 66. So also Anthony Sparrow, *Rationale upon the Book of Common-Prayer*: 'because the Priest doth herein *collect* the Devotions of the people, and offer them up to God' (ed. of 1668, p. 80).

noted that in most Latin books the term used for the 'Collect' is simply *Oratio*.

What is particularly notable about the Roman collect is its classical form. 'God,^a who^b didst teach the hearts of thy faithful people . . . grant^c us to have a right judgement . . . through^d Jesus Christ.' This is the Whitsunday Collect, but very many others are constructed on the same scheme. There is a still familiar parallel:

*Alme Sol^a, curru nitido diem qui^b
promis et celas aliusque et idem
nascere^c, possis^c nihil Urbe Roma
uisere maius.*

This is from Horace's solemn *Carmen saeculare*, but the invocations of Venus (*Odes*, I, 30) and of Fortune (I, 35) have much the same structure. The only difference from the collect is that of course there is nothing corresponding to ^d. If we compare the stanza of Horace with the Canon of Serapion and the Roman Canon (see Chapter IV, pp. 42 ff. and 48 f.) there can be no doubt how much nearer in style the Roman form is to the classical Roman poet than that of the Greek bishop is, and the Roman collect is nearer still. It seems likely that the characteristic form of the collect is due to Pope Leo the Great (d. 461): the noble and dignified style which he did so much to impress upon Christian forms of prayer was a great and lasting curb to the exuberance of Gothic taste.¹

¹ See, upon Roman style, Edmund Bishop, *The Genius of the Roman Rite* (*Liturgica Historica*, p. 12).

2. THE DAILY OFFICES

We must now come back to the monks. As remarked above, the monk all through the period from the fall of the Western Empire down to the Renaissance was regarded as the ideal Christian, the pattern to be imitated. The ordinary Christian, whether cleric or layman, was living in the world, more or less as the world lives, and so his way of life was called 'secular'. The monk, on the other hand, was living according to a holy rule: his life was 'regular'. The Rule of St Benedict prescribes the monk's behaviour all day and every day: it not only provides that he shall pray, but also regulates his prayers.

St Benedict's Rule is not excessively strict. Reasonable time is allowed for sleep, for meals, for labour, whether manual or literary, but all this is in order that the monks may be fit for their work, or rather for GOD's work, the *Opus Dei* that is their proper occupation. There was little doubt in Benedict's day as to what this was: it was the perpetual recitation of the divinely inspired hymn-book of the Church, i.e. the Psalms. The only question was, how much at a time and in what order? In old days, when devotion was warm, it was reported that the holy fathers in the desert used to say the whole Psalter every day, but Benedict was content so far to indulge the lukewarmness of his own degenerate times as only to aim at getting through the Psalter once a week (xviii, *end*)! And in what way did they chant these psalms? They began with special appropriate

introductory verses (Ps. li, 15, or lxx, 1),¹ then—at the first early morning session—Psalm iii with a *Gloria*, then Psalm xcv, followed by six psalms and some readings (*Rule*, ix). What do these directions come to, when written out in full in English?

O Lord, open thou our lips;
And our mouth shall shew forth thy praise.
O God, make speed to save us;
O Lord, make haste to help us,

followed by Psalm iii ('I laid me down and slept, and rose up again') with 'Glory be to the Father,' etc., at the end. Then 'O come, let us sing unto the Lord,' followed by psalms and lessons. This sequence is familiar to us all, indeed to most English men and women: it is not always remembered that the germ of our Order for Morning and Evening Prayer is to be found in the Benedictine Rule.

This is not the place to go into the very curious details of the early stages of these regulations, e.g. whether St Benedict intended his monks to say Ps. lxx, 1 with Ps. li, 15, or whether they were originally to be alternatives. One thing however may be noted in passing. The oldest part of the synagogue service still used by the Jews is what is called the 'Eighteen Benedictions':² it is said standing, in token of honour, just as we stand to hear the 'Gospel' read; and parts, at least, of the Eighteen may have been said in the

¹ Here, as elsewhere in this book, I give the enumeration according to the Book of Common Prayer, which is that of the English Bible and the Hebrew: the Latin and the Greek number are often one less, because Psalms ix and x are counted as one.

² See above, Chapter 1, p. 12.

synagogues in our Lord's time. This ancient form also begins by the leader saying, 'O Lord, open thou my lips, and my mouth shall declare thy praise'. It is not known when this verse was first thus used, but the custom can be traced to the third century A.D.¹

As for the number of these daily psalm-singsings, they were regulated by two verses from the Psalter itself. The Psalmist says: 'At midnight I will rise to give thanks unto thee' (cxix, 62), and 'Seven times a day do I praise thee' (cxix, 164).² This was the ideal, but in practice the former verse was somewhat mitigated, and many Benedictine houses only rose for their Vigils at the eighth hour, i.e. about 2 a.m., after which they rested on their beds again till the early dawn.³ The 'seven times' were therefore the night service at 2 a.m., at dawn (5—6 a.m.), terce (9 a.m.), sext (mid-day), nones (3 p.m.), vespers (about 6 p.m.), compline just before bed-time (about 8 p.m.). The times given are of course approximate. The daily Mass was before Sext: in practice, Nones was often said a little earlier than 3 p.m.

Such was the life of the Benedictine monk. The psalm-singing and readings took up about eight hours a day; sleep,

¹ The late Dr Abrahams referred me to Talmud, b. *Berachoth* 4^b.

² The 'seven times' are attested as early as the fourth century, but not the course of psalmody.

³ In St Benedict's Rule the night office is called Vigils (*Vigiliae*) and the early morning one Mattins (*Matutini*): according to present usage these Vigils are called Mattins and what St Benedict called Mattins are now called Lauds (*Laudes*).

meals, etc., another eight; leaving about eight hours for labour and recreation. Other orders, founded at later times, such as the Cistercians, may have been, in intention at least, more severe, but the Benedictine Rule set a sort of standard for the 'regular' life in the Middle Ages. What more especially concerns us is that something like it began during all the period after Charlemagne to be imposed upon the 'secular' clergy also.¹ It was not that the parish priest was turned altogether into a Benedictine. He was free to come and go among his parishioners—indeed, it was his duty—and if he had private property it was not taken from him. But he was forced to live a celibate life, to read daily a course of prescribed lessons and to say the Psalms at all the seven 'canonical' hours very much as the monks did.

The details of this course of reading varied from time to time and from region to region. The readings were not only from Scripture, for on Saints' Days some of the biography of the saint was read—in fact, such biographies came to be called *legenda*, 'something to be read'—and as fresh saints were canonized fresh 'legends' had to be compiled and found room for. There were also read portions of homilies by great doctors of the Church, such as Augustine or Gregory. Further, certain hymns were prescribed, ranging from very ancient pieces like *Magnificat* or *Te*

¹ One of the best pictures of the gradual regularization of the parish clergy in England during the century after the Conquest is to be found in T. Scott Holmes, 'The Austin Canons in England' (*Journ. of Theol. Studies*, v, 343-356).

Deum to quite modern poems in rhyme like the Corpus Christi Hymns composed by St Thomas Aquinas in 1263.¹ Further, the custom of different regions was different: from time to time new feasts such as Trinity Sunday or Corpus Christi were approved by authority and commanded by the Pope to be everywhere observed, but there were also local saints and local observances.

SERVICE BOOKS

It was only by slow degrees that anything like our modern Prayer-Books came into existence. The Church of England Prayer-Book contains everything necessary for every service throughout the year, except the Lessons from the Bible, but the mediæval clergyman used about a dozen. In the time of Charlemagne and before, there were *Sacramentaries*, containing the words of the Mass and any special prayers to be said in connexion with the Canon, or before or after it, on any particular day. The Canon itself was invariable as to the greater part of it, but certain phrases were varied according to the season, for Christmas, for Epiphany, for Easter, etc. A survival of these are to be found in the Proper Prefaces of the English Prayer-Book. But the Sacramentary did not contain anything more than indications of the parts sung by the Chorus or Choir, which were contained in separate books, with music, or at least musical indications. These, again, were generally in different books, according as they consisted of music for

¹ On Hymns, see Chapter IX.

the Mass or for the daily 'Offices', and had words from Scripture or from other writings. In early times such musical service-books are called Antiphonaries or Antiphoners, so called from the *Antiphona* (in modern English 'anthem'); in later times a book with music for the Mass was called a Gradual. In old days, again, the prose texts were read out from the books from which they were taken, the Gospel from the *Textus Evangeliorum*, the psalms from a Psalter, lives of saints from a book of legends, homilies from collections of homilies or from copies of the author's works.

This was inconvenient in every way, and so compendious books began to be put together containing all that was necessary for certain services. They were of two main sorts: the *Missal* containing what is necessary for the Mass, and the *Breviary* (or *Portos*) containing the ordinary daily services.¹ The modern Roman Breviary is more bulky than the English Prayer-Book, mainly because all the readings, both from the Bible and from other writers are printed in full, as also are the hymns as well as the Biblical canticles. A full account of all these books is to be found in *The Old Service-Books of the English Church* by C. Wordsworth and H. Littlehales (London, 1904).

As remarked above, the details of services in the Middle Ages varied to a certain extent in different regions. This

¹ Perhaps the oldest known is the *Portiforium Oswaldi* from Worcester, dated 1064, now at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

was especially the case in regard to some of the musical parts, even in the Mass ('farced' Kyries, Sequences, etc.),¹ and in the daily offices there were differences in the hymns and the lessons. In such matters each bishopric was to a certain extent a law to itself. Some bishoprics had a more admired arrangement or 'use', and so their 'uses' were adopted in neighbouring regions. Thus in England we had 'Sarum Use', i.e. the Salisbury Prayer-Book, generally adopted in the south and east. Besides this there was Hereford Use and York Use. The use of Lyons is remarkable for never having admitted hymns, a custom which persisted till the French Revolution.

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¹ On this see Chapter ix.

CHAPTER SIX

FROM CHARLEMAGNE TO THE REFORMATION

THE splendid vision conjured up by Charlemagne of an effective Holy Roman Empire was hardly ever realized. It needed a wise and powerful Emperor working with a wise Pope in a Europe which was consciously of the same general culture. This hardly ever happened, and in the course of a few centuries new factors sprang up that made the thing, though not the name, impossible. Seven hundred years after the death of Charlemagne there was a revolution in Christianity, affecting chiefly the North of Europe, including England, which also revolutionized Christian worship. As in the case of the Dark Ages, a few words must be said about the general state of Christendom which led up to this revolution.

The period we are now considering is the mediæval period. In a later chapter something will be said about the magnificent cathedrals and abbeys which date from this period, and about the other surviving relics of Christian mediæval art. What we have now to think of are the fresh vistas of thought and life that came into being while these buildings were new. First and most important of all was the growth of the separate nations and of the modern languages. By 1300 England, France, Spain, were all

separate nations, distinct in speech and feeling from each other and from Germany and Italy. The Emperor was no longer the civil power of the West embodied in a single man: he was only the ruling prince in Germany and in as much of Italy as he could lay his hands on. And so far from Pope and Emperor working together, they were generally at war. Moreover, a change had come over the Pope and the Papal court. In Charlemagne's day the Pope was clearly the survivor and the representative of the old Roman tradition, something altogether supra-national, the teacher but not the tyrant of barbarian nationalities: by 1300 he had become an Italian (or French) potentate, much occupied in the affairs of his Italian dominions, and needing a civil service which had to be paid for to a considerable extent out of the contributions of the faithful. Long before any doctrinal disputes broke out the Papacy had become unpopular in England because it wanted so much English money.¹ And what was already true by 1300 had become a fixed state of things by 1500.

SCHOLASTICISM

During the period between Charlemagne and the Reformation there were two intellectual movements in Western Europe, which had a great influence on the thoughts of Christian men about worship. These two movements were

¹ It was not merely a question of giving 'subscriptions'. The Pope also claimed certain powers of appointing his own men to 'livings', etc., some of whom did not reside but none the less received the income of the office.

Scholasticism and the New Learning. Both movements were a sign that the West was waking out of the mental torpor and impotence of the Dark Ages. Scholasticism was mainly a clerical movement, for until the fourteenth century literary education was almost confined to the clergy. Its main effort was to make Christian doctrine more precise, to follow out what was implied in any given doctrine to its utmost logical conclusion. Neither among the learned scholars nor among the ignorant people was there any tendency to question or reject what had been handed down as the Christian tradition (Scripture, decisions of Popes or Councils, etc.), but they applied the rules of logic to what they found there.

The influence of Scholasticism on Christian worship during the mediæval period may be illustrated by two notable instances. It greatly influenced the external conduct of the congregation during 'Mass'. If you go to a Roman Church, the striking feature of the service is what is called the Elevation. The priest has been busied at the altar, but what is said is all in a low voice; at a certain point bells are rung to announce that something is going to happen, the congregation kneel, and then the priest holds aloft the consecrated wafer in his uplifted hands for them to see and adore. This is the impressive, the emotional moment: is then the ceremony, we ask, original, primitive? The answer is, No, it is mediæval, the logical result of following out a theory.

For in the first place, if one accepts the theory that a

positive change (what is called in ecclesiastical language a *substantial* change) is made in the bread and wine by consecration, scholastic consideration concluded that there must be some definite moment when the change was made:¹ before that moment, therefore, the offering is bread and wine, after that moment it is the Body and Blood of Christ. Christian people were accustomed to pay reverence to Christ's Body, believed to be present in the offering, but before consecration the offering is only bread, to bow down to which would be idolatry. Therefore, as it had become customary for the priest to say most of the prayer (the 'Canon') in a low voice, it was necessary to indicate the moment of 'transubstantiation' to the people, so that they should not commit idolatry by adoring too soon. Hence the ringing of bells as a warning and the solemn exhibition of the consecrated Host to the people. It is all a logical chain, each step follows from what has gone before. But as a result the attention has been taken away from the solemn offering unto GOD the Father to the abnormal² presence of the Body of Christ on earth, from the prayer for acceptance to the ecclesiastical miracle.

This illustration of the results of mediæval logic, uncontrolled by historical criticism, has its echo in the Prayer-Book Articles of Religion, where we read at the end of Art. xxv: 'The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to

¹ See above, p. 50. The decisive words, according to the Roman theory, are *corpus meum* and *peccatorum*.

² *Praeter rerum ordinem*.

be gazed upon...but that we should duly use them'. To quote that sentence is somewhat to anticipate; I do so, because this attempt to go back to the earlier stages of Christian thought and usage is uncharacteristic of the mediæval period, and is characteristic of the sixteenth-century Reformers.

Another instance in which the Scholastic way of thought influenced Christian worship is the rise in the late mediæval period of the 'chantry priest'. To explain his function a rather extended survey must be taken.

(a) In the early days of Christianity Christian worship was essentially social. The voice and action was that of the minister, but he spoke in the name of the whole community, and as far as possible they were all present when he offered the sacred prayer. Indeed the whole Church is ideally present at every service of Holy Communion, both those alive on earth and those who have passed away. But if so, the size of the actual congregation matters nothing, each Mass is the offering of the whole Church. So we find in the Middle Ages a type of Mass with no one present but the priest and an attendant to say the necessary responses.

(b) Further, the actual words of the service imply prayers for the general benefit of the congregation, for the acceptance of their worship, for spiritual blessing: the general meaning and intention of the whole Eucharist is not essentially different from the meaning and intention of the Lord's Prayer, viz. that GOD's good will may prevail and that our sins may be forgiven and we be safely guided.

But the view gained ground that the Eucharistic form of worship was pre-eminently the form suitable for Christians, whatever the special matter in hand might be. The special intention of such services was signified not only by separate prayers or collects in the preliminary proceedings, but even by insertions into the Canon itself.¹

(c) Logic and inference had been applied to the state of the Christian dead. Christian doctrine asserted that at the Last Judgement men would rise and be rewarded and punished according to their deserts, though indeed those whose sins had been forgiven through acceptance of Christ's sacrifice would find mercy and a place among the blessed above their deserts. Meanwhile, what may be supposed to be happening? On the one hand some, the martyrs and the saints, were thought to be already in Paradise; on the other there were doubtless wicked and persistent sinners who were damned and had gone to Hell. It was perhaps easy for these ideas to seem just and equal in the old days when the Christians were a small body of more or less persecuted devotees, while outside were the persecutors and the apostates. But later on, when all ranks of society were nominally Christian, the awful division into two classes only did not satisfy. Very likely, it was thought, the majority of Christians will escape the hopeless torments of Hell, but how many at death were not fit for the enjoyment of Heaven! Would such souls not actually choose to endure a period of cleansing, a process necessarily

¹ Generally in *Hanc igitur*: see above, p. 48.

painful, before entering into bliss? So we have the idea of Purgatory, as a kind of cure for those who were ultimately destined for Paradise.

(*d*) So far this speculation about matters which are entirely beyond human observation was healthy enough. But it was influenced by the idea that we on earth can assist in the cleansing process of Purgatory. Here, again, the process of thought began plausibly. The blessed state was a state of free communion, of intercourse, with GOD. The Church on earth had such communion in the Eucharist, and it had power to admit and to exclude from such communion. Could it not at least hasten the time when such free communion might be restored to the souls of departed Christians now in their Purgatory? And if one Mass said did so much good to a soul, then two Masses might be supposed (so it was argued) to do twice as much good. The more Masses said the better. And as getting a priest to say Mass is a thing that can be arranged for as a more or less business proposition, priests were employed for the purpose. It was not convenient that they should occupy the main altar of a church: for such semi-private services a small separate chapel, often called a chantry, was more convenient. Very often a tomb itself was fitted with an altar, where Masses for the repose of the soul of the occupier of the tomb could be conveniently said. At the end of the process we have a priest running through the fixed words of a service originally designed for the worship of a united community, as an alleviation of the trials of a person

now dead, of whom the priest may only know the bare name.

The good parson in Chaucer stayed in his parish, though it was a poor one, and would not

run to Londone, unto seynte Poules,
To seeken him a chaunterie for soules.

THE NEW LEARNING

Constantinople was captured by the Turks in 1453, and so the Christian Byzantine Empire came to an end. Curiously enough, this disaster helped to promote the rising influence of Greek learning in Western Europe. Exiled Greeks, carrying with them codices of their own or ability to translate those already in Western Europe, made their way to Rome, to Paris, even to England, and their activity and that of their scholars spread abroad a New Learning, different from that of the meticulous Scholasticism, with its endless subdivisions and distinctions. Latin ceased to be the only learned language: Greek and even Hebrew obtained places beside it. Moreover the new modern languages had now blossomed into literature, and serious thinkers were beginning to think in their mother tongue, even if they still published in Latin.

The second half of the fifteenth century saw a great advance in wealth and commercial prosperity. England was driven out of France and finally renounced the idea of becoming a Continental power. Europe had abandoned the Crusades and the attempt to retain Palestine for Christen-

dom, but Spain drove out the Moors. These changes greatly helped to strengthen the new burgher, trader, class—a new class, not so closely tied to the old organization of society as the military nobles and the Church. It may be said, with little exaggeration, that the money which in the ninth and following centuries would have gone to the foundation of new monasteries or the equipment of new Crusades went to the founding of new universities—or, we must add, to purely secular purposes. We cannot understand the Reformation without taking account of the decay of belief in the old ideals of religion. In the fifteenth century this did not take the form of speculative heresy or of the rejection of received doctrines, but this world became brighter, more vivid, more attractive, more important in men's eyes, and the other world became proportionally less important.

To crown all there came the discovery of what was at once called the New World. A little later there came the philosophically still more shattering discovery that this earth was not the centre of the universe, only a mere planet circling round the sun. But this latter view took time to establish itself and made no difference in practical affairs. The discovery of America, on the other hand, and the new route to India round the Cape, altered the configuration of the world men could travel in. It became at once obvious that some old ideas about the world were wrong, though backed by ancient authority. The mere fact of the New World prepared men's minds for the discovery that there

could be totally new ways of looking at religion and of organizing Church government.

LOLLARDS, HUSSITES, UTRAQUISTS

A note upon the Hussites of Bohemia may be inserted here, as an introduction to the Reformation under Luther and Calvin.

John Wyclif, who died late in 1384, was an Oxford scholar, who expressed the then growing discontent of many Englishmen with the increasingly alien system of papal dominion. He lived before the New Learning, and the movement to which he belonged was already on the wane before his death, partly owing to political reasons, partly through the uncompromising extravagance of his later writings. But the fact that he died a beneficed clergyman, at Lutterworth where he was rector, is enough to shew that he still enjoyed real support. His chief influence was felt in Bohemia. Richard II married Anne of Bohemia in 1382, and before the fourteenth century was over most of Wyclif's Latin works had been brought to Bohemia, where they exercised a great influence on John Hus, the leader of an anti-Papal movement in Bohemia which was both theological and national. Hus went with what was understood to be a safe-conduct from the Emperor Sigismund to a General Council at Constance, but he was imprisoned there and burnt as a heretic (July, 1415). The indignation felt at this shameful murder caused a revolt in Bohemia, which met with some success, and in the end

certain special concessions were made to the Hussites, which were not revoked till long after the Reformation was established in Germany.

Among these concessions was that to the 'Calixtines' or 'Utraquists', who had demanded that the laity should be given to drink of the Cup (*calix*, 'chalice'), i.e. 'communio sub *utraque* specie'. It was further part of the Hussite programme that Holy Scripture was the supreme standard in matters of faith, and that the Church was not the hierarchy but the community of the elect.

This is not the place to go more deeply into the history or the theology of the Bohemian Reformers. It is the mere fact of their existence that is important. The Utraquists of Bohemia were the first example of a more or less successful national dissent from the mediæval Church system. And two of their peculiarities were significant of the difference between the Western world in Charlemagne's day and at the end of the fifteenth century. The demand of the lay Utraquists to drink from the consecrated Cup in the Eucharist is a sign of the growing influence of lay opinion in theological disputes, a sign moreover which made a striking and perceptible difference in public worship. To the student and the theologian the actual words of the prayers may be of the first importance, but to the public generally the solemn Elevation of the consecrated Host on the one hand, and the giving or withholding the Chalice on the other, was the impressive thing. And just as the introduction of the 'Greater Elevation' in 1215 marks the high-

water line of Roman Catholic theory, so the dispute about the Cup marks the beginning of reaction from that theory. And similarly the other demand of the Bohemians, about the free preaching of 'the Word', meant in fact a demand for the acknowledgement that Latin had ceased to be a living language, and that the laity wanted not only the Cup for their lips but also the Holy Scriptures in a language they could understand.

Wyclif had done much to foster this latter demand in England. He had helped to prepare a Bible in modern English, which in the revised form produced by his disciple John Purvey had a good deal of influence, especially among his followers, generally called Lollards. In Wyclif's latter years he had practically appealed away from the governing class and the University to the poorer folk, and as a result the Lollards were, as a rule, uneducated and often unintelligent. By the time of Henry VIII they had nearly died out, but not entirely. In any case they had accustomed English people to a religion which dissented from that of Western Christendom.

It should be remarked that a number of the surviving 'Wycliffite Bibles' (i.e. copies of Purvey's revision) are handsome codices on vellum, often with illuminations. Some belonged to convents or other 'religious' institutions. This shews that what was objectionable to the Church authorities was not the mere translation into English, or indeed a knowledge of the Bible generally by lay-folk. What they objected to was reading the Bible without the

Catholic interpretation, and this happened more often when the Bible was read in English. To read the Latin Bible at all you need to know Latin, and now that Latin was a really dead language it could only be learned at school, and all schools were in clerical hands. He who had been to school, so the clergy thought, had already had the proper direction given to his mind, whereas the unschooled reader of a Bible in English fell naturally into heresy.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

THE REFORMATION

THE English Book of Common Prayer is the result of the Reformation in England. That Reformation was so influenced by the course of the Reformation both in Germany and in Switzerland that it is necessary to begin with this Continental Reformation first, especially in so far as it was concerned with changes in Christian worship.

LUTHER AND CALVIN

Martin Luther, a German monk in high esteem in his Order (Augustinians, see p. 60, note) and already distinguished as an expositor of St Paul, came about 1517 into controversy with one Tetzl, a seller of indulgences. 'Indulgences' (or, as they were called in England, 'pardons') were documents which professed to let off the purchaser a certain amount of the pains due to him in Purgatory. It was something like paying an anticipated fine instead of serving a sentence. Whatever defence may be made in theory for indulgences it is obvious that the practice of selling them lends itself to abuse, and Tetzl by the common consent of historians was behaving indefensibly. But it was a very convenient way of raising money for the Church, and the then Pope, Leo X, was badly in want of funds for the building of St Peter's at Rome (the present

magnificent basilica) and for his own profuse expenditure on objects of art. In the quarrel between Luther and Tetzel, Tetzel was supported by the Church authorities. Luther felt that his conscience would not allow him to retract, and proceeded to the position that Church authority might be, and indeed was, in the wrong. He was excommunicated in 1520. In 1520 Luther appeared before the Emperor at the Diet of Worms and refused to recant.¹

Other rebels against Church authority had acted somewhat in the same way, Hus being the last. The importance of Luther's case lies in the difference of the result. Whereas Hus had been burnt, and excommunicated heretics in the twelfth century had perished of hunger and cold, for no one would have any dealings with them, Luther was protected. On his return from Worms he was kidnapped by friendly knights, acting under the orders of the Elector of Saxony, Luther's immediate sovereign, and when after about ten months he was let out he found more than half the German lands in full rebellion against Rome and the ecclesiastical system.

During the rest of his life Luther was as much occupied in moderating and directing the revolt which his action had precipitated, as in controversy with Rome itself. He died in 1546.

John Calvin published his *Institutes* in 1536 at the age of twenty-seven, and died at Geneva in 1564. He was a

¹ His final words were, 'Here I stand—God help me! I cannot do otherwise'.

Frenchman, who first came to Geneva almost by accident, but the organization which he set up there was regarded by all the Reformed communities except the Lutherans of Germany as the ideal one. It may fairly be said that while Luther's aim was not a reconstruction of Scriptural models, but the continuance of whatever in life, worship, and organization was not contrary to Scripture, Calvin's on the other hand was a reconstruction from Scripture. To Calvin the intermediate centuries mattered very little: his aim was to copy, so far as possible, the New Testament model.

THE ENGLISH REFORMATION UNDER HENRY VIII

The Lutheran revolution in Germany left England almost untouched. There was in England during the first quarter of the sixteenth century a certain dislike of papal dues, partly arising from the general increase of private wealth and commercial enterprise, partly from the acute consciousness of national feeling. But there was little heresy, or discontent with Catholic rites.

From about 1527, however, Henry began to quarrel with the Pope. The king was a very learned and accomplished person, neither more nor less dissolute in his morals than most of the kings and a large proportion of the nobles of his time, but he was undoubtedly anxious about a son to succeed him, and his wife, Catherine of Aragon, had only a daughter surviving. Henry wanted to be free to marry again, and when the Pope would not adjudge his first

marriage invalid he broke off with the Pope and declared himself over all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, within his dominions supreme (1534).

It was no wonder that the Pope retorted by excommunicating Henry and began projects for removing him from his kingdom. But it all came to nothing and Henry died, a reigning and successful king, in 1547. Nothing more clearly shews the general decay of the old sanctions of religion and the rise of national feeling than the success of Henry's rebellion against Rome. He suppressed the monasteries by a process that was legal but also inequitable, yet such great institutions cannot be got rid of by mere tyranny without serious trouble arising, if they are really living institutions. He had no standing army, yet his projects in general met with no serious resistance either from Parliament or from the people. And though he had been excommunicated, that fact did not hinder the Emperor and the king of France from seeking his alliance. There were honest zealots for the old religion, like Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher, but the vast mass of the clergy followed Henry and not the Pope.

SERVICES IN ENGLISH

So far as the forms of Christian worship are concerned Henry VIII was a conservative, and during his reign little change was made. But his revolt from Rome had encouraged the consideration of new opinions in religion, and from 1533 the archbishop of Canterbury was Thomas

Cranmer, a very learned man, deeply committed to upholding the doctrine of the royal supremacy. The same national spirit which made the majority both of clergy and of laity follow the king rather than the Pope made English reformers desire to have the Bible in English, not translated from the Latin Vulgate, but from the original languages (Hebrew in the Old Testament, Greek in the New). This demand was greatly stimulated by the sale of William Tyndale's¹ version, printed on the Continent (New Testament, 1526; Pentateuch, 1529-30; Jonah, 1531) and smuggled into England. In 1534 a complete English Bible (Coverdale's) was printed at Antwerp, and English opinion in the following years moved so fast that in 1540 a Bible was printed in England under the patronage of Archbishop Cranmer himself, with Coverdale again as editor. In other countries a Bible in the vulgar tongue was a result of the Reformation; in England the Bible was circulated in English before any general change in worship or doctrine had been brought in, except the repudiation of Papal authority.

The beginning of public services in English was in 1544, when the Litany, originally a popular religious procession, was first printed and used in English. In 1547 Henry died, and his young son Edward VI succeeded him. Both Edward and his advisers were of the reforming party, and during his short reign (1547-53) religious affairs in England came more and more under the influence of Continental Protestantism. Various experiments were at once

¹ Also spelt Tindale.

made in English forms of public prayers,¹ culminating in what is known as 'The First Prayer-Book of Edward VI', published in March, 1549, and ordered to be used from Whitsunday of that year throughout the kingdom.

THE FIRST PRAYER-BOOK OF EDWARD VI

This great work is a Breviary and Missal combined. The Psalter is not printed in full, nor of course the lessons at Mattins and Evensong, but otherwise it contained everything wanted for the new order of services, including the Epistle and Gospel and the 'introit' (i.e. a psalm to be sung just before the Communion Service begins). That service is described as 'commonly called the Masse'; but whereas we at the present day, comparing this first English Prayer-Book with the one now used, find it more 'Catholic' than what we are mostly accustomed to, in 1549 it must have seemed from beginning to end full of daring innovations.

In the first place the whole of the words (including 'Kyrie eleison') are in English, and the appointed minister is ordered to say everything put down for him in an audible voice. In the 'Mass' the Greater Elevation is expressly abolished, for after the words of consecration this rubric is inserted:

These wordes before rehersed are to be saied, turning still to the Altar, without any eleuacion, or shewing the Sacrament to the people.

¹ For these see W. H. Frere (now Bishop of Truro) in *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, 1, 229-243.

A third notable innovation is that in the actual Communion of the people a complete form is given for administering the Cup to them, 'geuing euery one to drinke once and no more'.

As compared with what had hitherto been customary the daily prayers were shortened, while at the same time they were made more suitable for laymen. The seven daily offices were done away with, and in their place was substituted a morning service called Mattins¹ and an evening service called Evensong. At the present day the full Morning Prayer followed by Holy Communion is apt to seem long, but it is far shorter than what priests had then been accustomed to say daily for three hundred years and more. On the other hand the laity are invited to attend these daily prayers, as may be seen from the Preface to the Book of 1549, now headed in our present Book 'Concerning the Service of the Church'. From this we may gather that whereas the old daily offices had their centre of gravity in the recital of the Psalms, in Cranmer's view (for he is the chief compiler) the centre is in the reading of the Bible, 'that the Clergy...should (by often reading and meditation of GOD's Word) be stirred up to Godliness themselves...and further, that the people (by daily hearing of Holy Scripture read in the Church) should continually profit more and more in the knowledge of GOD'. The same

¹ Spelt in the Book of 1549 *Mattyns*, *Mattins* and *Matins*. The *-tt-* is correct, for the word is derived from *matutinos*, or *matutinas* (*horas*).

point is made in the Collect for the Second Sunday in Advent ('Blessed Lord, etc.') composed by Cranmer specially for the Book of 1549.

At the end of the Book was placed an explanatory note, called 'Of Ceremonies, why some be abolished and some retained', which is now to be found at the beginning of our Book (after 'Concerning the Service of the Church'). It is an excellent and temperate defence of the middle course Cranmer was trying to steer between those who resented every change and those who (as he describes them) 'be so new-fangle, that they would innovate all thing'.

THE SECOND PRAYER-BOOK OF EDWARD VI

How was the Book of 1549 received? As far as we can judge it satisfied nobody. Cranmer may not unfairly be called the first Anglican; and Anglicanism, with its links both with the Catholic past and with the then new Protestantism, was a new idea. The England of Edward VI was a rapidly changing world, in which men were taking definite sides and their opinions in religion were becoming hardened. Many who had acquiesced in disowning the Pope were unwilling to go further, and on the other hand the reforming party in England was now growing, and becoming more and more disposed to assimilate English public worship to Calvin's reconstruction of the New Testament model. Moreover Cranmer had invited over to England certain of the Continental Reformers, notably

Martin Bucer (or Butzer) from Strassburg and Peter-Martyr Vermigli, an Italian settled in Zurich. These men, and the reforming party generally, were dissatisfied with the Book of 1549, and a revision of it was prepared which appeared in 1552.

This revision, known as 'the Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI', is distinctly less like the Missal and Breviary than the Book of 1549. The chief changes were as follows:

(1) One of the notable innovations of the First Prayer-Book had been the providing of a form of public general confession of sins together with a form of general absolution as a preliminary to the Communion of both priest and people. This corresponded to the change whereby private confession to a priest before Communion was no longer made compulsory, though it was still permitted to those who desired it for the relief of their conscience. In the Book of 1552 a somewhat similar form was prefixed to 'Morning Prayer' (the word Mattins was now given up), together with the Exhortation beginning 'Dearly beloved brethren'.

(2) The introit before the Communion Service was left out.

(3) The 'Kyries' at the beginning of the Communion Service were suppressed, and the recitation of the Ten Commandments with 'Lord, have mercy upon us and incline', etc., as a response was substituted for them.¹ At the same time the ancient hymn 'Glory be to GOD on high' was transferred to the very end of the service.

¹ On this view of the change, see next chapter.

(4) The words of administration were changed (see below).

(5) The Prayer of Consecration, corresponding to the Canon of the Mass, was slightly revised in its wording; but a more important change was that it was divided into three parts, between which were inserted the forms for Communion. The order (after the offertory sentences) is as follows:

1549	1552
1. Preface and Sanctus.	2 <i>a.</i> Prayer for the Church (Militant).
2 <i>a.</i> Prayer for the Church (Universal).	4. Confession and Absolution.
2 <i>b.</i> Prayer of Consecration.	1. Preface and Sanctus.
2 <i>c.</i> Prayer of Oblation (<i>Anamnesis</i>).	5. Prayer of Humble Access.
3. Lord's Prayer.	2 <i>b.</i> Consecration.
4. Confession and Absolution.	6. Communion.
5. Prayer of Humble Access.	3. Lord's Prayer.
6. Communion.	2 <i>c.</i> Anamnesis, <i>or</i>
7. Post-communion.	7. Post-communion.

The effect of these changes of order will be touched upon in the next chapter.

It is not possible to say how long this Book would have continued had Edward VI lived longer. He died in 1553 and Mary came to the throne. She restored the old Latin

services, sent the reforming bishops into exile or to the stake, and formally reconciled the kingdom to Rome. After her death in 1558 Elizabeth succeeded, and with her a permanent anti-Roman polity. Elizabeth could never be reconciled to Rome, for she was the daughter of Anne Boleyn; but her ecclesiastical tastes were nearer those of Henry VIII than the Protestantism of Edward VI or the Romanism of Mary. The result was a settlement of ecclesiastical affairs which came nearer to the ideals of Cranmer (burnt at Oxford, 21 March, 1556) than seemed likely in either the reign of Mary or that of Edward.

When Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558 it was no time to revise a liturgy, and the Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI was restored. The only change made was to unite the words of administration in the Communion given in the Book of 1549 with those of 1552, thus:

For the bread (modern spelling):

The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul into (sic) everlasting life: and take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thine heart by faith, with thanksgiving.

For the cup:

The blood...into everlasting life: and drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.

The words in italics come from the Book of 1549, those in roman type from that of 1552.

This Prayer-Book remained until 1662, when a final revision was made, together with a new Preface ('It hath been the wisdom of the Church, ever since the first compiling

of her Public Liturgy, to keep the mean between the two extremes'). The changes in 1662 were of minor importance and need not be enumerated here, the chief being the substitution of the Authorized Version of the Bible for Coverdale's version in the Epistles and Gospels. But the Psalms were left as they had been since 1549, in Coverdale's (second) version—i.e. the Bible of 1540, made chiefly from the German Bible printed at Zurich, then the most up-to-date translation available.

The main characteristic of this revision of 1662 was that it registered the determination of the Church of England to retain its continuity with the Church of the past, as against the innovations championed by the Puritans. During the Puritan rule (from 1644 to 1660) the use of the Book of Common Prayer in public worship had been forbidden.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

NOTES ON THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

THE Prayer-Book, as it has been since 1662, professes to supply everything needed for public worship, 'Common' Prayer being, of course, the common service of all that do not renounce communion with the Church, commanded to be offered up in the names of all.¹ Let us see now what arrangement of worship it sets before us.

First of all, in order to look at the Book in due proportion, let us remember that it is arranged on a yearly basis. There are special 'Epistles' and 'Gospels' for every Sunday and for about thirty other special days, and these passages from the Bible are all printed in full: the Psalms also are printed in full, though only one-thirtieth of them, at most, are sung on any one day. If we imagine a Prayer-Book with the Psalms left out, and only the chapter and verse of the Epistles and Gospels indicated (as in the Calendar), we shall have a better idea of the general structure of the services. In this arrangement we should see the Order for Holy Communion in its proper central position, more especially if Evening Prayer or 'Evensong' were placed at the end, after the Communion Service.

Let us then imagine a Prayer-Book so arranged and see,

¹ See Sparrow's *Rationale*, p. 11.

in a more or less general way, the kind of Christian worship set forth. On Sunday the parson and his parishioners meet together in the Church.¹ After a short address, moving the congregation to acknowledge their sins before GOD, the General Confession is said by all, followed by the declaration, pronounced by the priest alone, that GOD forgives those who truly repent. The congregation is now regarded as fit to take part in the service of praise and prayer which follows. It begins, as all the mediæval services had come to begin, with the Lord's Prayer, but in the English order this is said aloud by minister and people together.

After the Lord's Prayer the psalmody begins, closely following the old Benedictine model.² We may notice that the Latin forms, together with the Book of 1549, use the Bible words, 'O Lorde, open thou my lippes', but from 1552 onwards the pronouns are put in the plural (*our* lips, *our* mouths) to emphasize the idea of the common participation of minister and people in the service.

At the 'Glory be to the Father' all stand up, as was expressly ordered in the revision of 1662. It was an ancient custom in saying this, the first direct ascription of praise to GOD in the service, to turn also to the East, as is done in the Creed. During Queen Elizabeth's reign this custom came to be regarded as superstitious and

¹ Sparrow, writing in the middle of the seventeenth century, names 9 a.m. as the proper hour for beginning the Communion Service, before which he assumes there would be Mattins and Litany (*Rationale*, p. 244)!

² See above, pp. 57 f.

papistical, and as such was occasionally forbidden. The order to stand avoided this objection and at the same time drew attention to the fact that here we are to offer solemn praise to GOD.

The psalm-singing is introduced by Psalm xcv, commonly called the *Venite* from its opening word. The Prayer-Book has a monthly arrangement for the Psalms to be sung: some churches now have a somewhat different selection. But it should be remembered, whatever selection be used on any particular day, that historically the recitation of the Psalter is the germ of the whole 'office': it is round the psalm-singing that the canticles and the prayers and the lessons have been grouped.

After the psalms come the readings or lessons, in the English services all taken from the Bible. You cannot read Cranmer's Preface ('Concerning the Service of the Church') without feeling how much importance he attached to the continuous reading of the Bible all through. If you attended morning and evening throughout the year you heard the Old Testament read through once, the New Testament three times. It must be remembered that in Cranmer's day, and for long afterwards, only a small proportion of English people could read, and that therefore this was a not unreasonable manner of giving the people the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the contents of the Bible. Now conditions are different: the Bible itself is in everyone's hands and all can read it if they will. Moreover the majority of church-goers now only attend

Sunday services. All this makes it very difficult to make a really suitable selection of passages. Various attempts have been made from time to time. What is certain is that if both reader and congregation accustomed themselves to look up beforehand what is said in a good commentary about the passages selected we should all find the lessons more interesting.

Between the two lessons is sung the *Te Deum* or what is called *Benedicite*, the usual custom being to interpret the 'or' by the Book of 1549, where *Te Deum* is ordered daily except in Lent. *Benedicite* is part of the song given in the ancient Greek version of the Old Testament as what was sung by Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego when they were cast into 'the burning fiery furnace' (Dan. iii). *Te Deum*, on the other hand, is not biblical, but is a Christian hymn written in Latin about A.D. 400. The best tradition ascribes its authorship to a certain Niceta, bishop of Remesiana (close to Nish in Serbia), a friend of St Jerome. *Te Deum* has been sung, at least on Sundays, ever since St Benedict drew up his Rule (A.D. 529).

The structure of the *Te Deum* is best studied as printed in the Third Accession Service (drawn up about 1900), from which we can see that it consists of two stanzas and an appendix. The first stanza is addressed to the Trinity, the second (i.e. 'Thou art the King' to 'glory everlasting') is addressed to Christ. What follows at the end is a collection of 'suffrages', or short petitions, added to the *Te Deum* proper as an appendix.

The *Benedictus* (i.e. Lk. i, 68–79), which is sung after the New Testament lesson, has likewise two parts, the second part beginning with ‘And thou, child’, the child in question being of course the infant John the Baptist. It should be noticed that each part consists of only a single sentence, a fact which is obscured by the custom of singing it as if it were a hymn written in lines of verse.

After *Benedictus* what is called ‘the Apostles’ Creed’ is sung or said. At certain festivals there is substituted for it what is called the ‘Creed of St Athanasius’ (really a Latin formula, probably composed in the fifth century, beginning *Quicumque Vult*). In the Communion Service another creed is recited, commonly called the ‘Nicene Creed’; it is not the formula made by the Council of Nicaea (A.D. 325), but that adopted at the Council of Chalcedon (452), having then been in existence for some seventy or perhaps ninety years.

SAYING THE CREEDS

The meaning and justification of the several clauses of the creeds belongs rather to a treatise on doctrine than to one on Christian worship, but something may be said here on the practice of the public recitation of the creeds and similar expressions of Christian faith. For it is not a question of the creeds alone; with them must be taken the *Te Deum* and also, if the matter be seriously considered, the ‘Glory be to the Father’, which is recited not only in connexion with the psalm-singing, but also in the Litany.

What is it that we do in singing the *Te Deum*? It has been sung in the ordered worship of Christians in the West for fourteen centuries: what does it express? It expresses, as the creeds do, the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, but it expresses them not as mere abstract truths or speculations but as the means whereby we may draw near to GOD in company with the universal Church, past as well as present, with the apostles, prophets and martyrs of old, not to ask for special boons for ourselves, but to say in effect 'Our Father in heaven, Thy Name be hallowed'. And in the second part of the *Te Deum*, when we address the glorified Christ, it is not for special or temporal benefits that we pray, but that we may not be cut off from that fellowship and communion with the saints that it is our privilege to claim as members of Christ's Church. In the collects and the various other prayers that come towards the end of the service we ask for special benefits and gifts, but the *Te Deum* and the recitation of the creeds are meant to make us recall the main outlines of the Christian religion, apart from our individual needs. If we value continuity with the Church of past ages it is well for us to remember what the men of past ages understood the faith to be, and therefore it is better that we should use the old formulas than some new one which, even if it sounded more modern and satisfying to us, would sound old-fashioned and out-of-date fifty, a hundred, two hundred years hence.

THE PRAYERS AND THE LITANY

After the creed comes a short section, corresponding more or less to 'Prime' in the pre-Reformation offices. It is marked as a fresh 'office' by the occurrence of the Lord's Prayer, and ends with a hymn, or as the Book of Common Prayer calls it 'the Anthem'. Then follows either what is called the 'Five Prayers' (for the king, the royal family, the clergy, a final prayer and 2 Cor. xiii, 14), or the Litany.

The Litany, as set forth in the Prayer-Book, is a separate service to be said between Mattins (with the Five Prayers left out) and the Communion Service. In modern times this has come to be thought too long, and the Litany is either left out altogether, or the Communion Service is taken at a very early hour. But in the intention of the Prayer-Book the Litany is to come before the Communion, and partly at least as a sort of preparation for Communion.

What is a 'litany'? It was originally a procession, made up of all sorts and conditions of men, who in times of trouble or distress would go together to some church or shrine to pray for help and forgiveness, and even on their way would utter cries such as 'Lord, help us!' 'Lord, we beseech Thee!' Afterwards the spontaneous appeals of the people became regularized, and special appropriate prayers and invocations were drawn up to be used by the clergy or the leaders of the processions. But even in the strictly prescribed form of the Prayer-Book it remains that part of the

services where the people themselves have most to do. The ideal Litany is not too slow, not mournful, but earnest, even a little excited, like the man in the Gospel standing in the night outside his neighbour's shut door, calling out until the man gets up and supplies his need (Lk. xi, 5-9).

THE INTRODUCTION TO THE COMMUNION SERVICE

The solemn order of the Eucharistic service has for centuries begun with a prayer that GOD will have mercy upon us.¹ It was expressed in the pre-Reformation services and in the Book of 1549 by a triple Kyrie sung by the clerks in the choir, or (as printed in the Book of 1549):

ijj. Lorde haue mercie vpon vs.

ijj. Christ haue mercie vpon vs.

ijj. Lorde haue mercie vpon vs.

In 1552, in the Second Prayer-Book, this was taken away, and there was substituted for it a solemn recitation of the Ten Commandments, with the choir (or people) repeating after each commandment the response 'Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law'. This solemn recitation of our duty to GOD and man is not to be regarded as a 'Kyrie' expanded, but as a new form introduced by Cranmer, probably from a German source.² There is this characteristic difference between the petitions for 'mercy' in the Litany and the Communion

¹ See above, pp. 55, 82, 85.

² See next chapter, p. 108, and the present writer's study in the *Irish Church Quarterly* for April, 1909 (vol. II, pp. 112 f.).

Service, that, while in the Litany we are beseeching God for things that we think we specially want, in the Communion Service our prayers are for the moral and spiritual help that we need at all times.

THE PECULIAR ORDER IN THE ENGLISH COMMUNION SERVICE

It was said of Cranmer that he turned the Mass into a Communion. This is true, but the method which he adopted and the principles which he followed are not always appreciated. The old order of the Mass, followed by the Book of 1549, began with the Preface and Canon. This included the Memorial (or *Anamnesis*) of Christ's Passion and the offering of ourselves, corresponding to *Unde et memores* in the Roman Canon. The Lord's Prayer follows. The priest then says:

Christ our Pascall lambe is offred vp for vs, once for al, when he bare our sinnes on hys body vpon the crosse, for he is the very lambe of God that taketh away the sinnes of the worlde: wherfor let vs kepe a ioyfull and holy feast with the Lorde.

Then follows 'You that do truly', etc., and all the rest of the Communion (i.e. the Sacred Meal itself), ending with the Post-Communion Prayer and the Blessing. Thus the sacrifice to God (or what corresponds to a sacrifice) and the Sacred Meal were kept distinct.

In the Book of 1552, on the other hand, these two parts of the service are interlaced.¹ What did Cranmer mean by this? As explained above, when treating of the Roman

¹ See the Table on p. 86.

Canon,¹ there is one thing, and one only, done by the priest without asking permission, without saying 'we beg' or 'we beseech': this is the act of offering what is brought before GOD. It is done by the priest in the name of the congregation. After it is done he asks humbly that GOD will accept it, but the actual offering is done by himself. What words correspond to this act in the Book of 1549?

The answer is that it is done twice. Corresponding to *Unde et memores*² in the Latin we read in the Book of 1549 (spelling modernized):

Wherefore, O Lord and heavenly Father, according to the institution of thy dearly beloved Son, our saviour Jesus Christ, we thy humble servants *do celebrate and make* here before thy divine Majesty, with these thy holy Gifts, the Memorial which thy Son hath willed us to make, having in remembrance his blessed Passion, mighty Resurrection, and glorious Ascension, rendering unto thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same, entirely desiring thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, most humbly beseeching thee to grant, etc.... And here *we offer and present* unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively Sacrifice unto thee: humbly beseeching thee, that whosoever shall be partakers of this holy Communion, etc.

It will be noted from the last clause quoted that the Communion has not yet taken place. But in this passage the priest does two things: he celebrates the 'Memorial' and he offers the souls and bodies of the congregation. Ritually this corresponds to *offerimus...hostiam* ('we offer the Host') in the Mass.

Now, as was said above, the Book of 1549 did not satisfy

¹ See p. 67.

² See p. 48.

the rising Protestantism of England, and something less like the Mass was called for. Speaking generally, Protestant opinion was willing to believe that the faithful were really nourished by Christ through eating and drinking the Sacrament, but the notion that the priest offered a sacrifice was distasteful, however carefully the sense in which such a statement was made might be guarded. We therefore find that in the Book of 1552 Cranmer left out all mention of the 'Memorial'.

But we know Cranmer's view of the Lord's Supper very well, from his elaborate controversy with Bishop Gardiner. In this he says (*Works*, Parker Society's edition, I, 349):

Forasmuch as he [i.e. Christ] hath given himself to death for us, to be an oblation and sacrifice unto his Father for our sins, let us give ourselves again unto him, making an oblation, not of goats, sheep, etc., . . . but of a creature that hath reason, that is to say, of ourselves. . . . These be the oblations of Christian men, these hosts and oblations be acceptable to Christ. . . . The true use of the Lord's Supper is to be restored again; wherein godly people assembled together may receive the sacrament, every man for himself.

Cranmer accordingly retained the latter part of the form printed above, but he did more. By interlacing the forms of 'sacrifice' and of communion he not only placed the act of Communion in the foreground, he also shewed his appreciation of the teaching of St Augustine, the great Doctor of the Church, so much appealed to by all sides in the Reformation period. St Augustine says:

This is the Sacrifice of Christians—'the many one body in Christ' (Rom. xii, 5): which also the Church solemnises by the sacrament of the altar. . . . where it is shewn to her that in the very thing that she offers she herself is offered (*De Ciuitate Dei*, x, 6),

and again :

If you wish to understand 'the Body of Christ', hear the Apostle saying to the faithful 'Ye are the Body of Christ and the Members': the mystery of yourselves is placed on the Lord's Table: the mystery of yourselves you receive (*Epist.* 272).

If there be any sacrifice in the Lord's Supper, it is the sacrifice of the Body of Christ. If there be any sacrifice in the English order, as it has been since 1552, it is the offering of ourselves. Cranmer brought these two ideas together, as near as ritual can do such a thing, by not allowing the priest and people to offer themselves until they had duly received the Sacrament. He was not quite consistent, it is true, for he allowed the Post-Communion Prayer of 1549, in which there is no oblation, to stand as an alternative. In this inconsistency he was unconsciously making a forecast of the then future history of the Church of England, in which there has ever since existed side by side those who specially value the Holy Communion as a valid re-presentation of the sacrifice of Calvary and those who find its whole worth and value in the assurance that they are 'incorporate in the mystical Body of Christ, which is the blessed company of all faithful people'.

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CHAPTER NINE

HYMNS AND HYMN-SINGING

HYMNS are of two sorts, which may conveniently be called ecclesiastical and modern. It will be convenient to treat them separately.

ECCLESIASTICAL HYMNS

The Christian Church started with new ideas, and its appropriate ritual took centuries to grow. But from the very beginning it had what was regarded as a divinely authorized hymn-book: we hear of *Psalm*-singing in public worship almost as soon as we get any definite information about Christian worship at all. From the fourth century onwards this recitation of the Psalter begins to be regulated and organized.¹

The practical use to which Psalm-singing was originally put by authority in Christian congregations was the excellent, if humble, office of filling up time, the office of occupying persons profitably who otherwise would be left idle. This really is the key to more liturgical questions than might at first be supposed. In other words, Christian people were not assembled in order to sing psalms and hymns, but Christian people, being assembled for some other purpose, were set to occupy themselves in singing

¹ See above, pp. 57 ff.

something suitable. The famous example of this on an extraordinary occasion is when St Athanasius kept his excited followers in order inside the cathedral at Alexandria on the night of 8 February, 356, by making his deacon say Psalm cxxxvi, while Arian officials at the church door were clamouring for his arrest. The congregation kept on shouting, 'For his mercy endureth for ever', and when it was all over and the Arian soldiery forced their way into the building, Athanasius had had time to make his escape unobserved. But ordinary Christian services also present unoccupied pauses, and these we find often filled in early times with psalm-singing. The actual time of communion in the Eucharist is such a pause for the majority in a large congregation: accordingly the Apostolic Constitutions (fourth century) here enjoin the singing of Psalm xxxiv. The most appropriate verse of this psalm ('O taste and see', verse 8) is also sung at communion in the Liturgy of St James, a custom already in use at Jerusalem in St Cyril's day. In the Liturgy of St Mark we find that Psalm cl is sung here, as also by the Abyssinian Church; at Antioch in the time of St Chrysostom they sang Psalm cxlv with verse 15 ('The eyes of all wait upon thee, O Lord') as a response.

In addition to the Psalms some similar passages from the rest of the Bible were sometimes sung, such as the Song of Moses (Ex. xv), and the words of Zacharias and of Simeon were also regarded as psalms and sung (i.e. *Benedictus* and *Nunc dimittis*). A further advance was made when Chris-

tians composed new pieces in the same sort of style. Three of such pieces survive. The *Gloria in excelsis*, sung by us at the end of the Communion Service, was originally a morning hymn, not eucharistic but to be sung at dawn. The corresponding hymn, to be sung at dusk, when the lamps in the church are being lighted, is equally old: it was in use in the fourth century, and St Basil tells us that even then no one knew who had composed it. It is still used in the Greek Church, but it was unknown in England, except to scholars, until the publication in 1834 of Keble's admirable rendering, 'Hail, gladdening Light'.¹

The *Te Deum*, as stated in the previous chapter, is the work of Niceta of Remesiana, a bishop of the end of the fourth century, who among other things wrote a discourse on keeping 'vigils' in church at night-time and another on the use of psalm-singing, in which he says that all should sing together and at the same pace!² These two discourses give a more vivid picture of what most of the non-eucharistic services in church were like in the fourth century than anything else that has survived.

Some Christian attempts at classical verse, both in Greek and in Latin, were made in the fourth century and later; very little, however, was produced suitable for

¹ *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, 18. The version in the *English Hymnal* (269) is inferior, both in words and music: it is Keble's verse that gives the spirit of φῶς ἱλαρόν.

² See above, p. 92, and Niceta, *De Bono Psalmodiae*, 13 (best text in C. H. Turner's edition, *Journ. of Theol. Studies* xxiv, 239 f.).

Church singing.¹ But at the end of the fourth century St Ambrose at Milan succeeded in adapting the iambic quatrain—practically our ‘long measure’—to Christian use. A number of ‘Ambrosian’ Hymns are certainly his, such as

*Aeterne rerum Conditor,
noctem diemque qui regis,
et temporum das tempora
ut alleues fastidium,*

which is quoted as Ambrose’s by Augustine himself.

Augustine testifies to the immense emotional impression the singing of these hymns made on him and on the crowds assembled in the cathedral at Milan. But that was a special occasion, and during the Dark Ages hymns and hymn-singing belonged almost exclusively to the monks. Daily hymns first obtained a sure footing in monastic offices; it was from these that they passed into the Breviary of the ordinary priest or canon. It is important to remember this, for it indicates the great point of difference between the mediæval and the modern hymn. The modern hymn, including the metrical psalm, belongs to the people; it is the part of Christian worship which most belongs to the congregation. The mediæval hymn belonged to the clerks in the choir; it was composed by them and for their use, and

¹ An exception is the arrangement of a few verses from Prudentius’ *Hymnus omnis horae* (d. 413) as a Christmas hymn (*E. H.* 613; *Hymns A. and M.* 56). The tune is mediæval, but did not go originally with this hymn: see Frere in the *Historical Edition of Hymns A. and M.*, no. 58.

as a rule formed no part of the popular devotions. In other words, the mediæval hymn, though in form the parent of our hymns, corresponded in practical use rather with the Anglican anthem. Indeed it is at the corresponding point in the Latin Breviary that the office hymn is sung.

The hymns of St Ambrose were written when Latin was still a living language: they are not rhymed, and they observe the classical rules of quantity and elision. As time went on these rules were less and less observed: the hymns of St Thomas Aquinas for Corpus Christi, published in 1263, are scanned by accent only and are rhymed.

One remarkable mediæval type of what we should now call a hymn must be noticed in passing. When the Gospel is read at Mass not only does everyone stand, but the reader of the Gospel proceeds to a higher level, either to a special pulpit or to a higher step (*gradus*) on the right side of the altar.¹ This bit of ritual used to take a certain time, which was filled up by the choir singing a sort of anthem called the 'Gradual' or 'Grail', consisting of a few verses taken or adapted from the Psalms. At the end they sang 'Alleluia', and it had become the custom by the middle of the ninth century to sing an elaborate flourish on the last syllable. No proper system of musical notation had as yet been invented and it was difficult to get the flourish right. To make teaching easier, nonsense syllables were sometimes put to the notes, a syllable to each note.

¹ I.e. the *left* side as you look at it from the nave: it is also called the north side.

Then the excellent idea came to a monk of St Gallen named Notker the Stammerer (d. 912) that it would be easier to sing and more edifying to hear if pious words were set to the notes, with one syllable to each note like most of our modern hymns, and Notker did so with great success. This new sort of hymn, sung just before the Gospel, was called a 'prose' because it was not in Latin quantitative metre, or a 'sequence' because it followed the 'Grail'. After a while sequences were often written in rhymed accented lines (like our English hymns), but they are still called 'proses'. Among these sequences are some examples of the greatest mediæval poetry, notably *Lauda Sion* for Corpus Christi by St Thomas Aquinas,¹ and *Dies Irae* in the 'Requiem' Mass for the dead.²

THE REFORMATION PERIOD

It was agreed by almost everyone in the early sixteenth century that the Church services had become too complicated. Something must go, and almost all the reformers, both Roman and Protestant, were agreed that it would be better to drop a great deal of the hymn-singing. Among the Romans all the sequences but four were cut out altogether. The Calvinists disapproved of hymns, and confined their singing to metrical versions of the Psalms. The English Prayer-Books, both in 1549 and in 1552, made no provision for singing either hymns or metrical Psalms, and

¹ *E. H.* 317 (words and music).

² *E. H.* 351.

the Church of England remained without a hymn-book for about 200 years.

No doubt theological considerations were the chief cause of all this. The very words of Scripture were supposed by many Churchmen, as well as Nonconformists, to be alone suitable for public worship: 'is any merry, let him sing *psalms*'. But it is also to be remembered that public hymn-singing depends on an available supply of good hymns and good tunes. At the time of the English Reformation music itself was changing its character, so that the old tunes were many of them unsuitable; and, as one of the chief points of the new order was that the services were to be in English, it was necessary first to get a supply of suitable English hymns before they could be sung in church.

GERMAN HYMNS

To the general rejection of hymns by the Reformers there was one great exception. Luther was himself an excellent musician, and he fully understood the power of singing to move and influence men and women. Moreover, the Germans had already become a musical people, and already had a large store of religious verse set to simple tunes in their own language. The German Easter Hymn, *Christ ist erstanden*, still in use, goes back both for words and for music to the twelfth century,¹ and some dozens

¹ Tune (somewhat modernized): *E. H.* 134, first tune. The refrain is not *Alleluia*, but *Kyrioleis*, a corruption of *Kyrie eleison* found in some other ancient German hymns.

of tunes and hymns are known that go back to the days before Luther. Luther adapted some of these to his new German order of public worship; for some he wrote new words; and he himself composed at least one new tune of the highest merit for one of his new hymns (*Ein' feste Burg*).¹ So, as a conservative theologian complained, 'the people sang themselves into heresy'. But this was only possible because there was a good stock of tunes and hymns already available.

In England these tunes were as unfamiliar as the proper Gregorian melodies to Ambrosian hymns, and the specimens of rhymed translations of the Lutheran hymns (mostly in Myles Coverdale's *Goostly Psalmes*, 1539) are so cumbrous that it is no wonder they did not become popular. But German hymns influenced the English Prayer-Book at two points, which are curious enough to deserve special notice. One of these (the recital of the Commandments) is noted above, p. 96, the other is the prose hymn in the Burial Service, beginning 'In the midst of life we are in death'.

'IN THE MIDST OF LIFE WE ARE IN DEATH'

The main source of Cranmer's Order for the Burial of the Dead is the reformed order drawn up by Bucer in 1543 for Cologne. In this the hymn *Mitten wir in Leben sind* is permitted. Bucer only gives the first line, but Cranmer saw that it was the equivalent of an antiphon added to

¹ *E. H.* 362.

Nunc dimittis at Compline during Lent. Coverdale had translated it from the German in his *Goostly Psalmes*, but it was not a good setting, so Cranmer gave the well-known prose rendering, mostly direct from the Latin, but incorporating one or two of Coverdale's phrases. This antiphon (beginning *Media uita in morte sumus*) itself incorporates what used to be called the *Trisagion* or *Aius*, i.e. ἅγιος, which is not the *Sanctus* in the Mass, but the ancient Greek invocation that has found a place in Latin services as the refrain of the 'Reproaches' for Good Friday, in which the *Aius* to this day is sung in Greek and Latin. In the Good Friday service the *Aius* is referred to our Lord, as it was also by the Greek Monophysites (ever since Peter the Fuller in 470), but originally it was addressed, like the opening of the English Litany, to GOD the Three in One.

Thus the venerable cry of the Trisagion, ἅγιος ὁ θεός, ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς (in English, 'O Lord GOD most holy, O Lord most mighty, O holy and most merciful Saviour, deliver us'), is a link which still binds together the worship of East and West, of Anglican and Lutheran, at specially solemn though different seasons. It points to a certain continuity of Christian aspiration, though most of those who hear the invocation are unconscious of its origin and history.

HYMNS AND PSALMS IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

The charter of hymn-singing in the Church of England is the 49th of the Royal Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth

(1559), in which it was permitted 'for the comforting of such that delight in music...that in the beginning, or in the end of Common Prayers, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn, or such-like song, to the praise of Almighty GOD, in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised'.

But, as was remarked above, there were no English hymns available in Elizabeth's day. The congregations used instead what is now called the Old Version of the metrical Psalms, which had been begun in the time of Henry VIII by one Thomas Sternhold, a 'groom of the robes' to the king. All Sternhold's verses have now been superseded, but in their time they had immense influence, more especially through their metre, which was the old ballad-measure

It felle about the Lammas-tyde
When hosbandes winn their haye.

This is exactly the metre of

Ye noble hosts and ministers
Cease not to laud Him still:
Which ready are to execute
His pleasure and His will.

(Psalm ciii, 21.)

Like many of the ballads, Sternhold only rhymes the second and fourth lines: his successors, such as Hopkins, rhymed also the first and third lines, but Tate and Brady, authors of the New Version (issued in 1696), reverted to Sternhold's simpler practice. And that this metre, now known as 'Common Measure', can tell a tale very well

indeed in a singable way is proved by Tate's best known verses, which begin, 'While shepherds watched their flocks by night'.¹

ISAAC WATTS

The credit of removing the prejudice against hymns in public worship is specially due to Isaac Watts (1674-1748). He was an Independent, or as we should say now a Congregationalist, minister who began writing hymns and paraphrases from Scripture just about the time that the Toleration Act restored liberty of worship to the Nonconformists. Former paraphrases had attempted above all to be literal: with Watts, on the other hand, it is often only the idea that is taken direct from the Bible, so that the transition to an independent religious lyrical poem is almost complete. At how many funerals have not both Psalm xc and 'O God, our help in ages past'² been sung, without anyone being conscious that one is a paraphrase of the other! Among other hymns by Watts should be mentioned 'When I survey',³ 'Jesus shall reign',⁴ and 'There is a land of pure delight'⁵: the last is said to have been suggested by the view over Southampton Water from where Watts then lived and where his statue now stands.

MODERN HYMNS

With Isaac Watts we have arrived at the modern hymn. That excellent book of reference, *Julian's Dictionary of*

¹ E. H. 30.

■ E. H. 450.

³ E. H. 107.⁴ E. H. 420.

■ E. H. 498.

Hymnology (especially in the second edition, 1907, when the late Rev. James Mearns was assistant editor), gives a trustworthy account of all hymns in public use and short biographies of most hymn-writers. It only remains now to touch upon the extraordinarily divergent and surprising circumstances in which hymns of permanent value see the light.

Our really popular and established Christmas hymns, whence do they come? One is 'While shepherds watched', already noticed. Another is 'Hark! the herald Angels sing'¹: this is by Charles Wesley, brother of John the founder of Methodism, and grandfather of S. S. Wesley the great organist. But there are two others which come from a very different source. In the early eighteenth century Lancashire was the poorest and most backward corner of England, the stronghold of unprogressive Papists and of ultra-conservative Jacobites. Yet from this unpromising quarter in the time of its stagnation came '*Adeste, fideles*' and 'Christians, awake'! The Latin words of *Adeste, fideles*² cannot be traced beyond a MS. at the Jesuit College at Stonyhurst, dated 1751: the tune is no doubt contemporary with the words but was not published till 1782. 'Christians, awake, salute the happy morn',³ by John Byrom of Manchester, the noted poet and Jacobite, was first heard when Wainwright, the organist of what is now Manchester

¹ *E. H.* 24: the original words, as Wesley wrote them in 1743, are given in *E. H.* 23. Charles Wesley was also the author of 'Jesu, Lover of my soul' (*E. H.* 414).

² *E. H.* 28.

³ *E. H.* 21.

Cathedral and the composer of the tune, brought his choir to sing it at Byrom's door on Christmas Eve, 1750.

Augustus Montague Toplady was an Anglican clergyman of extreme Calvinistic views and of an acrimonious controversial disposition, the last sort of person one would expect to need mention here. But a characteristically hard, and in its limits logical, demonstration of the hopeless sinfulness of every human being, published in his *Gospel Magazine* (March, 1776), ends with 'A living and dying Prayer for the Holiest Believer in the World:—Rock of Ages, cleft for me...'! These were the circumstances in which this famous and touching hymn first appeared in print.¹

Reginald Heber lived from 1783 to 1826, just the very period when we are sometimes told that the Church of England was most worldly and torpid. After a brilliant career at Oxford he travelled abroad for a couple of years, and then settled down as 'half parson, half squire' (to use his own words) in the family living at Hodnet in Shropshire. But he was a most zealous and efficient parish priest, building schools, increasing the Church services, improving the singing; and when he left Hodnet in 1822 it was to become Bishop of Calcutta, dying suddenly at Trichinopoly in 1826, while travelling about visiting his then vast and unwieldy diocese. Besides 'From Greenland's icy moun-

¹ *E. H.* 477. For the story see *Dictionary of Hymnology*, pp. 970 f. On p. 1693 of the *Dict.* reasons are given for disbelieving the tale so often told to tourists, which connects this hymn with Burrington Coombe in the Mendips.

tains'¹ written, like all his hymns, at Hodnet, he was the author of 'Brightest and best of the sons of the morning'² and of the Trinity Sunday hymn 'Holy, holy, holy'.³ He was also the first modern English writer of hymns to arrange them in the order of the Church's year.

Sir Robert Grant, M.P., P.C., Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge, Governor of Bombay (d. 1838), was the author of 'O worship the King',⁴ a very fine re-setting of the old metrical version of Psalm civ. Mrs Sarah Adams (d. 1848), authoress of 'Nearer, my God, to Thee',⁵ was an Unitarian. But perhaps the acme of comprehensiveness is reached when we sing 'Praise to the Holiest in the height' to the tune called *Richmond*.⁶ The metre is the Old English ballad-metre used by Sternhold (c.m., see above). The author is John Henry Newman, the leader of the 'Oxford Movement', who in 1845 went over to Rome and died a Cardinal: 'Praise to the Holiest' comes from the dramatic poem called *The Dream of Gerontius*, written in 1865. The tune *Richmond* in the *English Hymnal* is by T. Haweis (d. 1820), an English clergyman whose views were too Protestant for the Bishops of his day, who therefore joined what is called 'the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion', but is best remembered as the grandfather of the Rev. H. R. Haweis, a well-known pioneer of more musical services and of Broad-Church views in the English Church at the end of

¹ *E. H.* 547.

³ *E. H.* 162.

⁵ *E. H.* 444.

² *E. H.* 41.

⁴ *E. H.* 466.

⁶ *E. H.* 471

the nineteenth century. Finally, the impressive repetition of the first stanza at the end is due to the editors of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.

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CHAPTER TEN

ENGLISH CHURCHES

THE object of this chapter is not so much to consider church buildings from the point of view of art and beauty, as from the point of view of use and function. How are churches arranged? Why are they arranged so?

The oldest feature about a church is that it is turned to the east, so that the congregation generally faces eastwards. This is not to be explained as the survival of a Jewish custom to pray with the face turned towards Jerusalem, for the earliest clear Christian evidence comes from Edessa, from the Syriac-speaking Christians east of the Euphrates, to whom Jerusalem was a place not in the east but in the south or south-west. And from these Christians of Edessa we learn also what was the belief which led to this custom: 'Pray ye towards the East, because "as the lightning which lighteneth from the east and is seen even to the west, so shall the coming of the Son of Man be"', that by this we may know and understand that He will appear from the East suddenly'. So we read in the very ancient Rules known now as the Canons of Addai, which represent oriental Christian practice in the third century. It is the same document which first testifies to the custom of standing up when the Gospel is read.¹

¹ See above, p. 54, note.

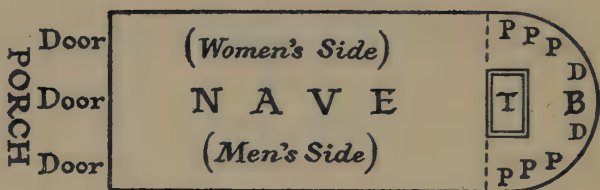
In the large churches that sprang up after persecution ceased, and Christianity became the established religion, a somewhat different arrangement was often followed. For what purpose did Christians come together? For the Sacred Meal. In the course of this were Scripture readings, a sermon, prayers; but the central point was the meal, even though the actual eating and drinking had become a mere ceremony. In such a ceremony the food is the central point: if we think of the ceremony mainly as a sacrifice, we shall call what the food is placed on the 'altar'; if we think of it mainly as a meal, we shall call it the 'table'. If the congregation be in front, the natural place for the ministers is behind. So we get what is known as the basilican arrangement, when great halls, shaped like a Roman royal Court of Justice (*basilica*), were adapted for Christian worship.

The central hall, to which the congregation were admitted, was called the 'nave' (i.e. 'ship'); those who for any reason are not admitted must stay outside in the 'porch' or 'narthex'. In the semi-circular space at the opposite end, called the 'apse', were seats for the clergy¹: those indicated in the figure (p. 118) shew a bishop in his chair, with two deacons standing beside him, and the assistant presbyters seated on each side. A low screen or railings (*cancelli*), here marked with a dotted line, divided off the nave from

¹ It is because the bishop's 'chair' (in Latin *cathedra*) is placed in the chief church of the district which he administers that it is called the 'cathedral church', and the district is called his 'see' (Lat. *sedes*, 'seat').

the apse, which latter part of the church is now called the 'chancel'.

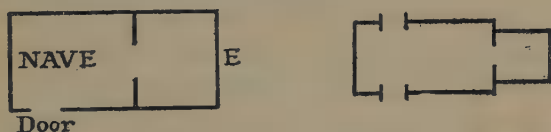
This basilican arrangement, still found in St Peter's and many of the greater churches at Rome—also in the cathedral at Ravenna, rebuilt in the eighteenth century after a



fire, but on the old plan—was not common in England, though such churches are found, e.g. at Brixworth near Northampton and Wing near Leighton Buzzard. The usual shape seems to have been a square east end, such as most English churches have now. It is unfortunate that the actual position of the 'holy table' or altar in these very early churches is uncertain, whether detached or placed against the east wall, i.e. whether it was used, so to speak, as a table or as a sideboard. William of Malmesbury tells us that St Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester from 1062 to 1095, took pains to destroy the wooden altars remaining in his diocese, and adds that 'wooden altars had persisted in England from the earliest days'.

It should be noticed that facing towards the east is not a sign of any early connexion of British or English Christianity with eastern lands or churches, but is instinctive. The discovery of the mariner's compass, and the use of

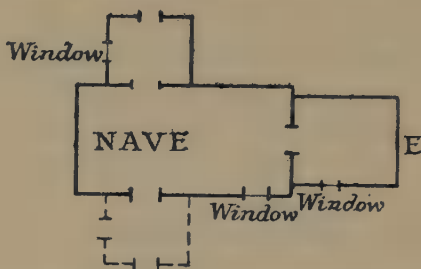
maps, which because of the compass are drawn with the north quarter at the top, have accustomed us to think of Northumberland as the top of England. But in the Old Testament, and indeed in all Semitic literature, it is the east that is thought of as in front. The word in the Old Testament translated 'eastwards of' (Gen. iii, 24, etc.) is the same as that for 'in front of'. Yemen, in Southern Arabia, the southernmost land known to Semites, means 'Righthandland', and the Assyrians (who lived near where Mosul is now) called Syria and Palestine 'Behindland', because it lay to the west of them.



In any case the oldest surviving churches are built with a nave on the west and a chancel on the east. The plan is simple: the figures above might serve either for the church on Caldey Island near Tenby, or for that of Over Denton near Gilsland on the Roman Wall. Nave and chancel are practically two rooms connected by an opening which only extends to about one third of the breadth of the building.

The most perfectly preserved church in England dating from the times before the Norman Conquest is at Bradford-on-Avon near Bath. It had been disused in the Middle Ages and then was turned into cottages, so it escaped both recognition and structural alteration till about fifty years

ago, when it was well restored to its original condition. The south porch has disappeared; otherwise the building



is practically unchanged.¹ Except for the addition of the porches, which are large in proportion to the rest of the building, the plan is the same as those previously mentioned, with the same characteristic narrow entrance into the chancel. The only windows at Bradford are shewn in the plan.

NORMAN AND LATER CHURCHES

The Norman Conquest entirely changed the church architecture of England. This was true in the first place of the style of building. The Normans had become far more expert in the arts than the English of the eleventh century: indeed the great churches and castles built by the Normans in the days of William the Conqueror have never been surpassed for solid grandeur. An unaltered specimen on the

¹ The plan is not rigidly drawn to scale, but near enough to shew the general proportions: the porches were about 10 ft. square. Worth, in Sussex, is much the same, but has been more rebuilt.

largest scale may be seen in the central portion of St Albans Abbey Church, now the cathedral, built between the years 1080 and 1100 of Roman bricks from the ruins of Verulamium.¹ This great building illustrates most of the changes of arrangement which were brought in by the Normans.

In the first place there was a tendency to build large churches with the groundplan in the form of a cross. Architecturally this involves a space in the middle of the church opening all four ways, and so leading to special treatment. Next we may notice that the characteristic narrow opening into the chancel has disappeared. Chancel screens were still used after the Normans came, but the chancel-opening henceforth is as wide as the chancel arch itself. Whether the service was already said in a low voice is perhaps not quite certain, but the Norman (and Continental) arrangement made it possible for most of the congregation in the nave to *see* what was going on. In the third place St Albans exhibits the modification in a church plan which results from monastic use. The monastic 'offices' are essentially of the nature of family prayers, i.e. private: in an abbey church there is needed a part that is public and a part that is private.

Various methods were adopted. At St Albans, as at Westminster and formerly at Ely, only a part of the nave

¹ Neither the English nor the Normans knew how to *make* bricks. The art was lost till it was revived in the Netherlands, and reintroduced into England about 1400.

was public and all the rest reserved for the monks. At Wells and Norwich the reserved part only included the choir. Wells was not monastic, but I began with monastic churches because it was monastic or semi-monastic arrangements that spread to other churches, not the other way. The canons of the non-monastic cathedrals from about the twelfth century onward had their daily services arranged in a sort of monastic way, so that the architectural requirements were similar.

The arrangement at St Albans cut off layfolk in the nave altogether from services connected with the main altar of the church, so that a separate altar (or altars) stood against the wall that separated the monks' part of the church from the public part. St Albans, in fact, like Southwell and some others, was practically two churches in one, one lying to the east of the other. But elsewhere, and universally in smaller churches, the method adopted was to lengthen out the chancel for the use of the clergy, leaving at the east end the main altar which served both for those in the chancel and for those in the nave.

THE ENGLISH PARISH CHURCH

The preceding section has touched upon all the important developements of the arrangement of churches, except the purely structural and artistic features. We enter then an old English parish church: what shall we expect to see? What ought we to look out for? Many of them are very old, but do not look it, not so much because of modern restora-

tion as because of alterations and extensions made in the later Middle Ages.

We approach our church from the north side and go down two or three steps from the street. This in itself is an indication of age, not that the church has sunk into the ground, but the road level and that of other buildings has risen. We enter by a porch, which is not merely a convenience on a wet day: it is a kind of borderland between the secular and sacred. The church door is the most public spot in a parish: on it in the Middle Ages, and now, are affixed official notices. Passing through it we see near the door the font for baptism, where new Christians are received into the Church.

The building itself is a large hall, not a set of rooms. But the central space is divided up by two rows of pointed arches into three aisles or corridors, the central corridor or nave proper being lighted from above, by windows in the clear-story or wall above the arches. The altar or 'Communion table' is at the east end of an eastward prolongation of this central nave, which is practically as wide as the central nave itself. This eastward prolongation is the chancel, and it contains seats for the clergy and their helpers in the service—in modern times for the singers or 'choir'. In the church where we are standing we see in the south wall of the chancel remains of windows and of a tomb built into the wall, while nearer the altar is a recess for placing the bread and wine, etc., before consecration: in other churches we sometimes see here ancient

stone seats for the clergy. On the opposite (north) wall there is a large arch behind which is a modern chamber filled up with an organ.

This is a description of St Bene't's Church, Cambridge, but with a few modifications it might stand for that of many an English parish church. Now, having walked up the church to the chancel arch, let us turn round and face westwards. We see at the west end of the nave a circular arch supported by two massive piers with curious rough carving. The west wall itself is built of small stones, but the angles of the piers are faced with large flat stones placed alternately flat and on their sides, a curious arrangement known as 'long-and-short work'. The whole arch with the wall which it pierces gives a totally different impression from the neat but commonplace work of all the rest. It is Saxon work, work done before William the Conqueror, and left exactly in the same state as it was on the day when the Battle of Hastings was being fought.

As a matter of fact the whole west tower is Saxon, and almost unaltered. A glance at it, inside and out, with a few words of explanation from an intelligent guide, can make it clear at once. But if our guide wishes really to initiate us into the practical continuity under diverse appearances of the old English church he will take us into the modern organ-chamber, a structure which fills up the angle between the north side of the chancel and the east end of the north aisle. Inside this modern organ-chamber we shall find, in a dark corner indeed but carefully pre-

served, the north-east corner of the old nave, i.e. the north-east external corner of the original church. It is of the same long-and-short work as the western tower: in other words, not only the tower, but the nave itself is really Saxon.

Originally there was a Saxon church, consisting of the present tower and a nave, the same size in plan as the present nave, but without aisles and not so high, with a sanctuary or chancel consisting of a semi-circular apse. Then this apse was lengthened, perhaps twice, till it attained its present form, with a square east end. Then the nave was enlarged, first by an aisle on one side, the roof being supported by an arcade and pillars, then the same thing was done on the other side; the central roof also has been raised to allow of windows being inserted for light. But the work was not all done at the same time; the church was not altogether rebuilt from the ground. And very likely, if the plaster on the wall between the Gothic arcade were to be taken down, little bits of undisturbed Saxon rubble-work would be found still there.

The same sort of thing has happened in very many English churches. There is a notable instance at Monkwearmouth, where great parts of the church are new, other parts late mediæval, but the west door and parts of the curious carvings with which it is decorated may have been seen by the Venerable Bede, who wrote his *History of the Church in England* at Monkwearmouth a century before Alfred the Great was born.

ROOD-SCREENS, ETC.

The chancel arch is, on the whole, the most conspicuous feature in a church for the people in the nave. The altar and its immediate background ('rere-dos', east window, etc.) may be the ideal centre, but it was often at the end of a long chancel, and if there was an elaborately carved screen it was partly hidden. So the west wall of the chancel, chiefly but not entirely consisting of the opening, came in for special treatment in the later Middle Ages.

The favourite method was a 'rood', literally 'cross', but in practice a 'crucifix', i.e. a figure of Christ on the Cross, and in most cases it came to have the figures of the Virgin Mary on one side and St John on the other. These figures were set on a beam going across the chancel arch: in some churches this beam became a light gallery, where on occasions singers could be placed. In late mediæval days these roods were alleged to be sources of superstitious practices and beliefs, and they were taken down by royal decree, so that very few are now left. But the access to them by narrow spiral staircases behind or inside the chancel pillars, sometimes with holes cut where the great beam rested, is a marked feature in many churches.

The walls of the chancel were almost always lower than those of the nave, so that wide as the chancel arch was there was often a great space above it. This was frequently used for paintings, generally of the 'Doom', i.e. the Last

Judgement. A very fine example survives in St Thomas's Church, Salisbury.

The walls of the churches, up to the time of the Reformation, were often painted, generally with scenes from the life of some saint, or (as above) with the 'Doom': near the font we often find depicted the gigantic figure of St Christopher, because the legend that he carried the infant Christ across a river was regarded as a type of the Christian being submerged in the water of baptism and thereby 'putting on' Christ.

In this, as in other things, the mediæval Church attempted to suggest and to teach Christian doctrine by the eye, by things seen. The leaders of the Reformation, on the other hand, trusted only teaching by written or spoken words: the lay Christian, they thought, was safest taught by the hearing of the ear. Naturally much of what was intended to be taught in late mediæval paintings was late mediæval doctrine, just the sort of thing that the reforming party was most opposed to, and the result of this was in England a prejudice against almost all Christian art and the general destruction of ancient works of Christian art in churches. But it would be a mistake to suppose that all pre-Reformation churches were treasure houses of beauty. The fifteenth century was in many respects a commonplace age, and its works of art in England were many of them commonplace and inappropriate. A church exists for acts of worship by live congregations, not as a museum to be admired by visitors. It can easily be overdecorated.

Decoration which helps the minister and congregation to perform the services heartily and intelligently is good art: what does not serve this purpose is luxury,

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